N. ramanathan.

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ध्रुपद वार्षिकी

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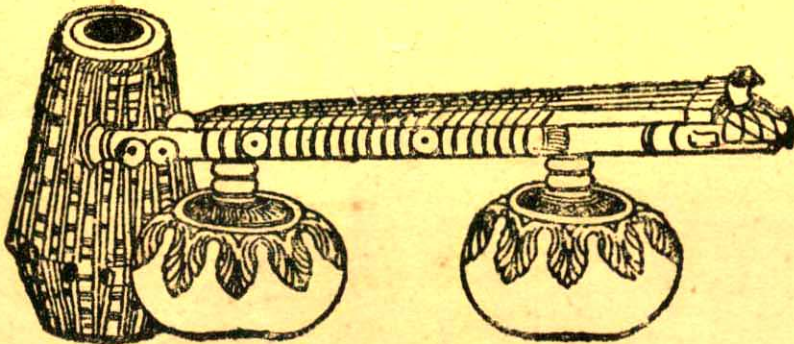
OBJECTIVES :

1. To present a chronicle of the wave of scholarly and popular awakening about Dhrupad that originated a few years ago.
2. To stimulate and promote scholarly work about Dhrupad.
3. To prepare reference material for research on various aspects of Dhrupad.

Bilingual Nature of the Journal :

Articles in English have been summarised in Hindi and *vice versa.*

Subscriptions : Rs. 100/- Inland; Foreign $ 20

उद्देश्य :

१. गत कुछ वर्षों में ध्रुपद के सम्बन्ध में विशेष (विद्वज्जनोचित) और सामान्य जागरण की जो लहर उठी है, उसका काल-क्रमानुसारी विवरण प्रस्तुत करना ।

२. ध्रुपद को लेकर विद्वत्तापूर्ण कार्य को प्रेरणा और प्रोत्साहन प्रदान करना ।

३. ध्रुपद के विभिन्न पक्षों पर शोधकार्य के लिए सामग्री प्रस्तुत करना ।

पत्रिका का द्विभाषामय स्वरूप :

अंग्रेजी लेखों का हिन्दी में और हिन्दी लेखों का अंग्रेजी में सार-संक्षेप प्रस्तुत है ।

शुल्क : भारत में १०० रु०; विदेश में २० डालर ।

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दशमाङ्क (महाशिवरात्रि वि. सं. २०५१)

Maharaja Banaras Vidya Mandir Trust

अनुक्रमणिका
TABLE OF CONTENTS

PARALLEL FORMS IN SOUTH AND NORTH INDIAN CLASSICAL MUSIC : KRTI AND DHRUPAD

SELINA THIELEMANN

Introduction

The comparison of musical forms represents one of the most problematic areas of Indian music for there is no historical source of general validity which can be applied to both the South and the North Indian classical traditions. Whereas parallels in the *rāga* and *tāla* systems of South and North India justify reference to the 13th century treatise, *Saṃgītaratnākara*, by Śārṅgadeva (hereafter SR) as evidence for the history of both traditions, musical forms show similiarities, if at all, only at the surface; and differences between the major forms of South and North Indian music cannot be easily ignored. In particular, the following problems become obvious at a first glance:

1. The North Indian *dhrupad* style has its origin presumably in the 14th or 15th centuries[1], and the *dhrupad* form at the time of its origin did not essentially differ from modern *dhrupad*, i.e., changes which *dhrupad* has undoubtedly undergone throughout the centuries can be related to the original form. Furthermore, as we know through oral transmission, a terminology similiar to the terminology which denotes structural divisions in modern *dhrupad* was used in the 14-16th centuries. The development of musical form in North India, therefore, can be followed back to a period which comes relatively close to the time of origin of the *Saṃgītaratnākara* (13th c.), namely, the 14-15th centuries; the historical difference is that of little more than one century. On the other hand, the major forms of South Indian classical music since the late 18th century, i.e. *divyanāma kīrtana* and *kṛti*, differ considerably both from each other and from the original form called *kīrtana* or *pada* which came into existence in the 14/15th centuries. For the latter, however, neither written evidence nor any reliable oral information are preserved.[2] The only fact which is known with relative certainty is that the modern terms

of the *kṛti/kīrtana* form, i.e. the divisions *pallavi, anupallavi and caraṇa*, do not occur earlier than at the time of the *divyanāma kīrtanas* of the saint-composer, Tyāgarāja, in the late 18th century. The terminology used in the 14/15th centuries is not known as yet. The lack of historical evidence of musical form in South India from a period of about five centuries (13-18th c.) makes any comparison between modern, i.e. post-18th century *kīrtana* or *kṛti*, and the *dhruva prabandha* form described in the *Saṃgītaratnākara* meaningless.

2. With respect to the South and North Indian traditions, a basic distinction has to be made between musical form and musical style. In North India, we have to deal with a variety of musical styles all of which are based on one and the same structural scheme, namely, the 14th century *dhrupad* form which has its roots in *dhruva prabandha*. In South India, on the other hand, only one musical style exists, but within it a variety of forms. The single form can be even further sub-divided into different types, e.g. *divyanāma kīrtana* of *ekadhātu* and *dvidhātu* types. It is obvious that such a variety of forms can hardly be derived from just one source, i.e. SR, as it is the case with the *dhrupad* form.

3. A considerable part of confusion has been caused by the fact that the *Saṃgītaratnākara* was written geographically in Central India - in Deogiri (nowadays Daulatabad), between 1227 and 1247, -which leads to the questionable conclusion that it is based on both the North and the South Indian traditions. SR, however, deals mainly with contemporary North Indian music practice, although it is likely to reflect the content of most of the Sanskrit treatises existing at the time of its origin. The earliest South Indian treatise on music (apart from commentaries on SR like Kallinātha's *Kalānidhi*, 15th c.) date from about the 15/16th centuries (e.g. Rāmāmātya's *Svaramelakalānidhi*, 1550; henceforth RS), and they do not mention musical form at all.[3]

4. It is known that a distinct South Indian musical tradition had existed already at the time of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the oldest, still preserved treatise on India's dramatic art, attributed to Bharata, dating from about the second to the fourth centuries AD. This tradition had been determined by the survival of pre-Aryan languages and cultures in South India; nevertheless it came equally under the influence of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and

later Sanskrit treatises (Widdess 1983 : 907). The question yet unanswered is in what respect and to what extent this South Indian tradition has been different from the North Indian one. There are certain parallels in basic principles such as the adherence to *rāga* and *tāla* (although the actual *rāga* and *tāla* systems differ from each other), oral transmission, the essentially monodic character, basics of performance practice and the structure of the typical ensembles (cf. Powers 1980:73, Widdess 1983). It should also be noted that the South Indian terminology is mostly Sanskrit-derived, apart from a few modern terms in Tamil language. Musical forms, however, are likely to be an area of difference, mainly for two reasons already mentioned: firstly, there is the variety of forms in South India which cannot be related to a common source of origin and, secondly, the fact of the complete absence of musical form in South Indian treatise.

5. Finally, existing musicological studies of the present time approach the subject from an either North Indian or a South Indian focused point of view, both of which offer a restricted perspective on the problems. There exists no study which gives equal importance to both traditions, nor has any serious attempt been made to compare musical forms in both traditions (apart from Widdess 1981).[4] Unfortunately, all of the existing studies overemphasize one or other of the traditions.

One question of primary importance emerges immediately from this list of problems: Why is it not possible to use the *Saṃgītaratnākara*, i.e. *dhruva prabandha*, as a source of information about musical form in South India? A few aspects which may contribute to an answer shall be considered here briefly.

The variety of forms within one single style in South India (as distinct from the different North Indian styles based on one form) causes a basic problem for any comparative activity: Which particular form or which subcategory within a form should be used for comparison? Apart from this technical difficulty, is it not generally unlikely that such a great variety of musical forms as to be found in South India can be derived from just one single source? A further aspect to be taken into consideration is the fact that in North India one single form has been preserved in the course of about seven centuries after SR. There seems to be no logical reason why such a single form, provided

the case it ever existed, should not have survived in South India—especially if we keep in mind that North India came strongly under the influence of various Muslim invasions from the 12th century onwards. The Muslim influence, indeed, has often served as an explanation for the variety of musical styles in the North. This theory, however, is in no respect satisfactory for it explains neither the unity of form in North India nor the diversity of form in the South. Other reasons must be responsible for this phenomenon, and I would hypothesize that these reasons have to be looked for in both the distinct South Indian tradition which existed from very ancient times and the historical development South Indian music must have undergone between the 13th and the 18th centuries (although by now hardly anything is known about this development).

As pointed out earlier, we are confronted with the lack of written evidence for musical form in South India up to the late 18th century—to be more specific, there is no evidence either for the pre-13th century period or for the time after SR. For the present purpose, only the latter period, i.e. the 13-18th centuries, will be of interest. No information is preserved about the *kīrtana* form at the time of its origin (14-15th c.). As a result, there is no basis for comparison with *dhruva prabandha*, because the use of 18/19th century forms without knowledge about their historical development would be highly speculative. Two more aspects should be considered in this context. Firstly, a terminology different from the modern one has been used in the pre-18th century period; so the terms *pallavi, anupallavi* and *caraṇa* apply only from the 18th century onwards. The old terminology, however, is not known apart from the word *dhruva* ('fixed' , hence 'refrain') which, of course, itself cannot provide enough information about the context of its use.[5] Secondly, one should remember the complete absence of musical forms both in South Indian treatises from the 15th century onwards and in pre-13th century inscriptions. SR, therefore, if considered as a source of information about South Indian music, would represent a remarkable exception.

However, a comparison between the *kṛti/kīrtana* form and *dhruva prabandha* may be to some degree justified for the *kṛti/kīrtana* form was and is still the major form of South Indian music, but such a comparison will be possible only if a *kṛti/kīrtana* model of general validity can be abstracted from

its various sub-types. The solution suggested by Widdess (1981 : 166) shows the right intention, but it needs proof for it is based exclusively on one single and unrepresentative *'kīrtana'* (or rather *kṛti*?) example of uncertain origin taken from Kaufmann (1976:220). Because of the historical gap of about five centuries after the *Saṃgītaratnākara*, it is advisible to compare first *kṛti/kīrtana* with the North Indian *dhrupad* form, and from there on to follow further back to *dhruva prabandha*. In doing so, one has to be extremely careful not to draw speculative conclusions about the possible direction of historical development in South Indian music between the 13-18th centuries, which may end up in misleading results. It should not be forgotten that there was certainly an exchange between North and South Indian traditions; influences from the North came to South India and *vice versa*, though it is not known to what extent. Furthermore, both *dhrupad* and *kṛti/kīrtana* have been transmitted in different traditions - a fact which complicates the situation at least for South India because of the historically very short period of about two centuries available for comparison.

Finally, the title of the paper: 'parallel forms...' itself is provocative. Is it really *parallel* forms we have to deal with? Is there a '*dhrupad/kīrtana* form' which can be followed back to *dhruva prabandha* (as suggested by Widdess 1981)? The only possible way to find an appropriate answer is to start with a comparison -- *kīrtana - dhrupad, not kīrtana - dhruva prabandha*. First of all, however, it is necessary to clarify the South Indian terminology and to make a strict distinction between the types of *divyanāma kīrtana* and the *kṛti* forms which are so often misleadingly interpreted. A *kṛti/kīrtana* model can be found only on the basis of clearly defined and distinguished types, it cannot be taken from the melting-pot of confused South Indian forms dominating a considerable part of modern literature.

II. The *kṛti/kīrtana* form: *divyanāma kīrtana* and *kṛti*

The major musical form dominating South India at the time of the first written evidence was a type of devotional song called *kīrtana* or *pada* which came into existence in the latter half of the 14th century. Contemporary written sources, however, do not mention either musical forms in general or the *kīrtana*

form in particular. The Tālapākam composers, namely, Annamācarya and his grandson Cinnaya, who lived in the 15th century in Tirupati (Andhra Pradesh), were the first whose names are connected with *kīrtana* . According to Sambamoorthy (III., 134 - hereafter cited as SambSIM), "Tālapākam composers (1400-1500) were the first to write kīrtanas with the divisions: pallavi, anupallavi and caraṇa". Here we face the problem that these terms occur only in connection with *kīrtanas* and *kṛtis* from the 18th century onwards, particularly with Tyāgarāja's *divyanāma kīrtanas* - a fact obviously not paid attention to by Sambamoorthy. As mentioned earlier, the only pre-18th century term known with relative certainty is '*dhruva*' ('refrain') which may stand for all sorts of structural elements unless its meaning gets more specified, and unfortunately no pre-18th century *kīrtanas* have been preserved in written form. The second significant figure connected with the development of *kīrtana* was Purandara Dāsa (1484-1564) who lived in Vijayanagara. The lack of written evidence, however, does not allow for reliable information about similarities and differences between the *kīrtanas* of the Tālapākam composers and those of Purandara Dāsa, and about possible (North Indian or other) influences on Purandara Dāsa. The direction the *kīrtana* form took after Purandara Dāsa's death (1564) and the destruction of Vijayanagara (1565), when the tradition continued further South, is also unknown.

Another problem emerges from Sambamoorthy's description of the *kīrtana* form: Samb SIM (III, 134ff) refers to both the Tālapākam composers and Purandara Dāsa, but he does not make explicit that the actual musical basis for his explanations consists exclusively of *divyanāma kīrtanas* (i.e. *kīrtanas* by Tyāgarāja) and those written by Tyāgarāja's contemporaries in the 18/19th centuries. In order to dissolve this confusion it should be summarized once again that, firstly, the *kīrtana* form as it is preserved today cannot be followed back earlier than the late 18th century; secondly, no valuable information is available about the *kīrtana* form of the 14/15th centuries and, thirdly, we do not know about the development of *kīrtana* between the 14-18th centuries.

The earliest, still preserved *kīrtanas* are the *divyanāma kīrtanas* of Tyāgarāja (1768-1848). *Divyanāma kīrtanas* are devotional music, their poetry is characterized by its sacred content. Tyāgarāja developed the *kīrtana*

into a concert form, called *kṛti* - an *art form* which lost its purely religious character.[6] Further, *kṛtis* have been written by Muttuswāmi Dīkṣitar, Śyāma Śāstri and various disciples in the 18/19th centuries. It is only from this period onwards that the development of musical form in South India can be followed, based on both oral transmission and written notation. The starting point for any comparison, therefore, are *divyānama kīrtanas* and, later on, *kṛtis.*

Before proceeding any further it will be necessary to devote a few paragraphs to the description of *divyanāma kīrtana* and *kṛti.* SambSIM (III, 115-19 and 133ff) lists the distinctive features of *kṛti* and *kīrtana* which are reproduced here in a summarized version.

	divyanāma kīrtana	*kṛti*
general	'applied music': text is of primary importance	'pure music: melody is of primary importance
	vocal form	can be performed either vocal or instrumental;
		can be in any *rāga*; may be in slow, medium or fast tempo
poetry (*sāhitya*)	based on a sacred theme	based on a sacred, secular or didactic theme
	valued for the devotional content of its poetry	valued for its aesthetic content
	sāhitya may be of a devotional character, may relate to a *purānic* theme, may be in praise of great devotees (*bhaktas*)	*sāhitya* may be of sacred or secular character, may relate to an ethical or didactic theme
musical structure	music subordinated to the words, words are many	words generally few, serve as a vehicle to sing the music; melody is complex, technical beauties

multiple *caraṇas*; all *caraṇas* are sung to the same melody (which is sometimes the same as that of the *pallavi*)	one or more *caraṇas* which may have the same melody or different melodies
all *caraṇas* have to be sung because of the sacred value of their texts	all *caraṇas* have to be sung only if the melodies are different, otherwise it is sufficient to sing only the first or the *mudra caraṇas*, i.e. the *caraṇa* in which the name of the composer is mentioned
anupallavi: dispensable part	[*anupallavi*: dispensable part?][7]
are in common *rāgas*	can be in common and scholarly *rāgas*

So far the general features; the detailed structure of *kṛti* and *kīrtana* will be subject to further consideration.

(a) *Divyanāma kīrtana*

SambSIM (III, 180) points out: "The *kīrtana* ... is essentially a sacred form. The creation of *bhakti rasa* (feeling of devotion) is the ideal underlying this composition. The musical setting of some *kīrtanas* may be charming while that of others may be of a mediocre type. The *kīrtana* has the *aṅgas* [parts]: *pallavi, anupallavi* and *caraṇa.* The presence of plural *caraṇas* is a distinctive feature of *kīrtanas.* Sometimes the *anupallavi* may be absent. Decorative *aṅgas* like *ciṭṭasvaras* and *svara sāhityas* have no place in *kīrtanas.* But *madhyamakāla sāhityas* and rhetorical beauties may occasionally be found in *kīrtanas."*

Divyanāma kīrtanas may be of two types: *ekadhātu* and *dvidhātu* (cf. SambSIM III, 180f). In the *ekadhātu* type, *pallavi* and *caraṇas* are sung to the same music (*dhātu*); therefore, the *caraṇas* follow each other continuously without repetition of the *pallavi* at each stage. As for the *dvidhātu* type, the

melody of the *caraṇas* differs from the *pallavi* melody, and the *pallavi* has to be sung at the end of each *caraṇa*. Summarized, the structure appears as follows:

divyanāma kīrtana

	ekadhātu type			dvidhātu type	
A	pallavi		A	pallavi	
a_1		pallavi	a_1		pallavi
[B	anupallavi*		[B	anupallavi*	
a_1		pallavi]	a_1		pallavi]
A_1	caraṇa$_1$		C_1	caraṇa$_1$	
			a_1		pallavi
A_2	caraṇa$_2$		C_2	caraṇa$_2$	
			a_1		pallavi
A_n	caraṇa$_n$		C_n	caraṇa$_n$	
			a_1		pallavi

*dispensable part

SambSIM (III, 182) mentions six examples of *kīrtanas* by Tyāgarāja, three of which he ascribes to the *ekadhātu* and three to the *dvidhātu* type: *Śrī rāma jayarāma* (*Yadukulakāmbhoji rāga*), *Pāhi rāmacandra rāghava* (*Yadukulakāmbhoji*) and *Tava dāsōham* (*Puṉṉagāvaraḻi*) for *ekadhātu*, and *Śrī rāma śrī rāma* (*Sahāna*), *Pāhi rāmacandra pālita surēndra* (*Śaṅkarābharaṇa*) and *Gata mohā śrītapālā* (*Śaṅkarābharaṇa*) for *dvidhātu*. Comparison with the KMM, however, leads to the following result: The only *kīrtana* of *ekadhātu* type is *Pāhti rāmacandra rāghava*; the remaining five compositions belong to the *dvidhātu* type, including *Śrī rāma jayarāma* (which is set to *rāga Varaḻi*, not *Yadukulakāmbhoji*) and *Tava dāsoham*. The KMM versions of these *kīrtanas* are transcribed in examples 1 to 6 respectively. A feature which deserves attention is the omission of the *anupallavi* in *all* examples.

Example 7, *Rāma naṉṉu brōvarā* (*Harikāmbhoji*) by Tyāgarāja represents a type of composition "which lie on the borderland between a kṛti and

a kīrtana" (SambSIM III, 182). The KMM version shows a *kṛti* rather than *kīrtana* for it contains *saṃgati* (i.e. variations on the given melodic 'themes', which are a distinctive feature of the *kṛti* form, compare pp. 12/13, below); the same applies to the performance of this composition (on recording 33 ESX. 6001/A2, not transcribed), which includes a short *kalpana svara.*

(b) *Kṛti*

Kṛti compositions, like *kīrtanas*, consist of the three principal divisions, *pallavi* (literally 'tendril' or 'creeping plant', or 'root'), *anupallavi* ('after root') and *caraṇa* ('foot'). In certain cases, the *anupallavi* may be omitted. To be more precise, some compositions of Muttuswāmi Dīkṣitar have only two sections: *pallavi* and *anupallavi*, and in this case the section following the *pallavi* is called *samaṣṭi caraṇa*, i.e. "a composite aṅga standing for both the anupallavi and caraṇa" (SambSIM III, 137f). Sambamoorthy continues: "There will be *prāsa* [i.e. rhyme] agreement between the pallavi and the samaṣṭi caraṇa. Where there is no such agreement the composition will be deemed to consist of a pallavi and a caraṇa alone" (SambSIM III, 138). '*Samaṣṭi caraṇa*' is defined as "the section following the pallavi and which stands both for anupallavi and caraṇa. Samaṣṭi means aggregate. It is caraṇa since it is the last section of the composition; and it is an anupallavi, since it has prasa agreement with the pallavi" (SambSIM III, 331). The *samaṣṭi caraṇa*, however should not be confused with the possible absence of the *anupallavi* in *kīrtana*. The *caraṇa* itself can never be omitted, neither in *kṛti* nor in *kīrtana.*[8]

The standard structure of the *kṛti* composition is relatively similar to the structure of the *dvidhātu kīrtana* :

kṛti			kīrtana/dvidhātu type		
A	pallavi		A	pallavi	
a_1		pallavi*	a_1		pallavi
B	anupallavi		[B	anupallavi**	
a_1		pallavi*	a_1		pallavi]
C	caraṇa		C_1	caraṇa$_1$	
b_1		anupallavi*/	a_1		pallavi

a_1	pallavi*	
[more caraṇas may be added]	C_{2-n}	$caraṇa_{2-n}$
	a_1	pallavi

* usually not the whole section, but only the first few lines are repeated

** dispensable part

Examples 8 & 9 show the *kṛti Saṃgīta jñānamu* (*Dhanyāsi rāga*) by Tyāgarāja, consisting of *pallavi*, *anupallavi* and *caraṇa*. The structure of the transcribed performance (example 9) appears as follows:

lines				
	1-5	*pallavi* (1st half)		
	6	*pallavi* (2nd half)	*pallavi*	
	7	*pallavi* (1st half)		*pallavi*
	8	*pallavi* (2nd half)		
	9(-10)		*pallavi* (1st half)	
	11-15	*anupallavi* (1st line)		
	16	*anupallavi* (2nd line)	*anupallavi*	
	17	*anupallavi* (1st line)		
	18	*anupallavi* (2nd line)		*anupallavi*
	19		*pallavi* (1st half)	
	20		*pallavi* (2nd half)	
	21		*pallavi* (1st half)	
	22-24	*caraṇa* (1st line)		
	25	*caraṇa* (2nd half)		
	26	*caraṇa* (1st line)		
	27	*caraṇa* (2nd line)	*caraṇa*	
	28-31	*caraṇa* (3rd line)		*caraṇa*
	32	*caraṇa* (4th line)		
	34	*caraṇa* (3rd line)		
	35		*pallavi* (1st half)	

36	*pallavi* (2nd half)
37(-38)	*pallavi* (1st half)

According to the preceding *kṛti* model, the overall structure can be summarized as follows:[9]

		(lines)		
A		1-8	pallavi	
	a_1	9(-10)		pallavi
B		11-18	anupallavi	
	a_1	19-21		pallavi
C		22-34	caraṇa	
	a_1	35-38		pallavi

The *kṛti Mākēlarā vicāramu* (*Ravicandrika rāga*) (examples 10 and 11) shows a similar structure.

As for the musical characteristics[10], the *pallavi* melody is based on the tonic and moves mainly in the lower register of the middle octave. At the beginning of the *anupallavi*, the melody ascends to the upper tonic and above it; this '*anupallavi* formula' is a characteristic feature of the second section. The *caraṇa* melody starts in the middle register and then moves successively through the entire range of the octave; its beginning is characterized by a typical '*caraṇa formula*'[11]. Within each of the composed sections, variations on the given melodic themes may be sung. These variations are called *saṃgati*. In *kṛti*, they are an integral and indispensable part of the composition, as distinct from *kīrtana* where *saṃgati* are not allowed. Each *saṃgati* is an evolution from the preceding one. They cannot be changed in their sequence without destroying the gradual step by step development of the composition (SambSIM III, 149f).

As far as the text is concerned, the *pallavi* contains very few words- usually not more than the first verse; the second half is left to the *anupallavi*. The remaining parts of the text belong to the *caraṇa*. Musically, the *caraṇa* 'theme' is built up of melody phrases of *pallavi* and *anupallavi*. The *caraṇa* melody is usually set out for the first few lines of the *caraṇa* text only. The remaining lines may be sung either to repetitions or to variations of the *caraṇa*

'theme'. In the latter case, this section is called *niṟaval.* The *niṟaval* is an improvised section based on the melodic material of the *caraṇa* and using *caraṇa* text; it is always preceded by the *caraṇa* (Kuckertz 1981:40). *Niṟaval* should not be confused with *saṃgati: saṃgati* are variations on the composition in sequential evolution, they are basically composed; the *niṟaval* is a separate, improvised section where new material is introduced. There is no strictly sequential evolution in *niṟaval.*

The musician may well go beyond the given melodic material and introduce characteristic phrases of the *rāga* which have not occurred in the composition. This second section is called *kalpana svara.* A singer will use solmization syllables instead of words. The *kalpana svara* is concluded by a repetition of *pallavi* and *anupallavi* respectively.[12]

Apart from the sections described so far, decorative parts may be added on completion of the *anupallavi* or *caraṇa.* These decorative sections are part of the composition and may serve for the development of themes for *niṟaval* and *kalpana svara.* Sambamoorthy's description runs as follows (SambSIM III, 138ff) :

1. *Ciṭṭasvara* (Tamil: *ciṭṭaisvara*): a passage using solmization syllables sung at the end of *anupallavi* or *caraṇa*, set in *samakāla*, i.e. the same speed as the composition, or *madhyamakāla*, i.e. the second degree of speed, but not in a tempo slower than the composition itself. Some *ciṭṭasvaras* can be sung from the beginning to the end and then again from the end to the beginning, i.e. in *anuloma* and *viloma krama*: forwards and backwards; these are called *viloma ciṭṭasvara.*

2. *Svara sāhitya*; a passage of a *ciṭṭasvara* sung with text (*sāhitya*) at the conclusion of *anupallavi* or *caraṇa. Viloma svara sāhitya* is a *viloma ciṭṭasvara* with *viloma sāhitya* added to it; the passage is so organized that both melody (*svara*) and text (*sāhitya*) occur in the same order in both *anuloma* and *viloma krama.*

3. *Madhyamakāla sāhitya*: a passage set in the second degree of speed and sung at the end of *anupallavi* or *caraṇa.*[13] *Madhyamakāla sāhityas* may be fit for developing *kalpana svaras.*

4. *Solkattu svara* (Tamil *col, collu*-word, syllable; *kattu* - to bind, tie together): a "regular ciṭṭasvara, where, in some portions, instead of the solfa syllables,

appropriate jatis (tāla mnemonic syllables) are introduced and sung" (p. 147)

The decorative *aṅgas*, although of minor importance compared to the essential divisions of *pallavi*, *anupallavi* and *caraṇa*, are composed sections. As pointed out earlier, they are peculiar to the *kṛti* form and have no place in *kīrtana* (apart from *madhyamakāla sāhitya* which may occasionally occur).

The following scheme may serve to summarize the structure of the *kṛti* form as described in the preceding paragraphs:

composed	improvised
(1) pallavi	
(2) anupallavi	
....	
[ciṭṭasvara/svara sāhitya/	
madhyamakāla sāhitya/	
solkattu svara]	
....	
(3) caraṇa	
....	
ciṭṭasvara/svara sāhitya/	
madhyamakāla sāhitya/	
solkattu svara	
....	
	(3a) niṟaval[14]
	kalpana svara

(c) The *kṛti/kīrtana* model

So far, we have been concerned mainly with the structural differences between *kṛti* and *kīrtana*, and we have argued that the *kṛti* form shows similarity to the *dvidhātu type* of *divyanāma kīrtana*. In order to decide whether or not a generalized model of *kṛti/kīrtana* can be devised, it is perhaps appropriate to display the different structures once again in their whole

complexity. (The decorative sections of *kṛti* can be omitted for these are subordinated parts which may not be added to the basic composition.)

divyanāma kīrtana				kṛti	
/		\			
ekadhātu type		dvidhātu type			
A	pallavi	A	pallavi	A	pallavi
a_1	pallavi	a_1	pallavi	a_1	pallavi
[B	anupallavi	[B	anupallavi	[B	anupallavi
a_1	pallavi]	a_1	pallavi]	a_1	pallavi]
A_1	caraṇa$_1$	C_1	caraṇa$_1$	C	caraṇa
		a_1	pallavi	b_1	anupallavi/
				a_1	pallavi
A_2	caraṇa	C_2	caraṇa$_2$		
		a_1	pallavi		[more caraṇas may be added]
A_n	caraṇa$_n$	C_n	caraṇa$_n$		
		a_1	pallavi		

The following observations may consolidate the argument in favour of a *kṛti/kīrtana* structure of general validity:

1. The *ekadhātu* type of *divyanāma kīrtana* may be considered as a special case of rare occurrence, which is in fact a simplified form of the *dvidhātu* type (compare examples 1-6). It does not show any basic structural difference. Therefore, it will be sufficient for *divyanāma kīrtana* to be represented by the *dvidhātu* type.
2. Having reduced the components of the model to *dvidhātu kīrtana* and *kṛti*, there remain two major areas of difference: the dispensability of *anupallavi* in *kīrtana* and the number of *caraṇas*.

3. As for the *anupallavi*, its omission in *kīrtana* is not obligatory, although very common. In *kṛti*, the *anupallavi* is rarely omitted. Theoretically, the *anupallavi* exists in both forms.

4. The reduction of the model to one single *caraṇa*, as suggested by Widdess (1981:166), will exclude the *kīrtana* form in which multiple *caraṇas* occur as a rule. In *kṛti*, on the other hand, the number of *caraṇas* is not restricted to just one. A model consisting of two *caraṇas* will be justified for it applies to both *kīrtana* and *kṛti* :

A		pallavi	
	a_1		pallavi
B		anupallavi	
	a_1		pallavi
C_1		caraṇa$_1$	
	a_1		pallavi
C_{2-n}		caraṇa$_{2-n}$	
	a_1		pallavi

5. For the purpose of possible comparison with the *dhrupad* form, the use of a model as above will be inconvenient. It is perhaps appropriate to remember the reason for the occurrence of plural *caraṇas* in *kīrtana*: they have to be sung because of the sacred value of their texts, and not for any reason of special importance for the musical structure. We may, therefore, argue that the *kṛti* form consisting of one *caraṇa* represents the *basic* structure of both *kṛti* and *kīrtana*, thus correcting stage 4 of the argument.

6. A final difference is the possible repetition of both *anupallavi* and *pallavi* after the *caraṇa* in *kṛti*. Example 9 shows, that the *anupallavi* is not necessarily repeated; we may therefore ignore it.

7. Having stated that the *kṛti* form represents also the basic structure of *divyanāma kīrtana* (5.), we arrive at the following solution :

kṛti/kīrtana form

A		pallavi	
	a_1		pallavi

B anupallavi

a_1 pallavi

C caraṇa

a_1 pallavi

The suggested model is identical with the one used by Widdess (1981:166). However, Widdess does not make explicit that there are structural differences between *kṛti* and *kīrtana*, and that the strucure given for '*kīrtana*' (p. 166) is in fact the *kṛti* structure which may, under certain circumstances - as proved by the foregoing considerations - be applied to *kīrtana* as well. A more serious problem is the fact that the only example on which Widdess' '*kīrtana* structure' is based, a so-called *kīrtana* mentioned by Kaufmann (1976:220f), has been inaccurately reproduced. Here are the two versions for comparison :

Kaufmann (1976:220f)	Widdess (1981:179)
pallavi	pallavi
(repeat the pallavi)	(1st time: anupallavi 2nd time: pallavi)
anupallavi	anupallavi
	(repeat pallavi)
caraṇa	caraṇa
repeat the pallavi and conclude the song with Ma (F)	(repeat pallavi, ending on [.])

As can be seen, the example given by Kaufmann goes straight on from *anupallavi* to *caraṇa*, whereas Widdess adds 'repeat *pallavi*' after the *anupallavi*. The overall structure appears as follows :

(after Kaufmann) A pallavi

a_1 pallavi

B anupallavi

C caraṇa

		a_1		pallavi
(after Widdess)	A		pallavi	
		a_1		pallavi
	B		anupallavi	
		a_1		pallavi
	C		caraṇa	
		a_1		pallavi

Now, in order to clear the confusion caused by these two different interpretations, it is advisable to look at the original source (or better, one of the possible 'original' sources) which is unfortunately not mentioned by Kaufmann. The composition in question is a *kṛti* in *rāga Mārgahindoḷam, Cala mēlarā* by Tyāgarāja (example 12). As for the musical structure, Widdess (1981:164) offers the following description based on Kaufmann's fragment :

> Example 14 (after Kaufmann 1976:220f) shows a kīrtana melody in three principal sections. The pallavi (bars 1-2), equivalent to the sthāyī of dhrupad, emphasises the lower tonic and middle octave ... The anupallavi (=antarā) (bars 2-4) emphasises the upper tonic, and moves in a generally high register; note the opening 'antarā-formula' .... The third section, caraṇam, is equivalent in length to the pallavi and anupallavi together. Bars 4-5 move in a similar register to the pallavi but emphasise the fifth...., whereas bars 6-8 repeat the material of the anupallavi. The caraṇam is therefore equivalent to the saṃcārī-ābhog of dhrupad... In Example 14, the whole of the pallavi is repeated after pallavi, anupallavi and caraṇam.

The comparison with *dhrupad* may be left aside for the moment and saved for the fourth chapter. The structure of the '*kīrtana*' itself, however, will be of interest; and the following considerations are based on the more complete KMM version (example 12). The composition consists of the three principal sections *pallavi*, *anupallavi* and *caraṇa*. In the present notation, the *pallavi* starts with the first half of the *pallavi* verse (first *tāla* period, line 1), followed by a *saṃgati* on line 1 (line2). Line 3 introduces the second half of the *pallavi* verse. The *anupallavi* starts with the first half of its verse (line 1); the following

saṃgati on line 1 (line 2) leads melodically to the second half of the verse (third line). The notes added at the end of the *anupallavi* indicate a repetition of the *pallavi*. Exactly the same structure as for the *anupallavi* is shown by the *caraṇa*; both sections, therefore, are constructed in one and the same way. At the end of the notated portion of the *caraṇa*, the remaining two text lines have to be sung to the melody of the *anupallavi* as indicated by a note on these lines in the printed text preceding the notation. The composition is concluded by a repetition of the *pallavi*, and ends on beat 3 of the first *tāla* section (marked.). Finally, it should be mentioned that all three sections start on beat 4 of the first *tāla* period, i.e. *anāgata*: the musical meter starts before the beginning of the melody.

The comparison with the fragmentary example given by Kaufmann and described by Widdess leads to the following result :

1. Kaufmann's example gives only the first half of the *pallavi* verse, but the first and third melody line, i.e. the complete melody period, of both *anupallavi* and *caraṇa*.
2. The existence of *saṃgatis* in the KMM version proves the fact that the composition in question is a *kṛti* not *kīrtana*. This, however, cannot be seen from Kaufmann's example, for it omits the *saṃgati*.
3. The KMM version confirms Widdess' suggestion of a repetition of the *pallavi* after the *anupallavi* before proceeding to the *caraṇa*. Further support for this suggestion is given by modern performance practice.
4. With respect to comparison with the *dhrupad* form (see chapter 4, below), it should be stated here that the relations in length between the single sections of the present example as pointed out in Widdess' description do not fit with the KMM version. Abstracting from the KMM, the result appears as follows: *pallavi* - 2 periods (in *Ādi-tāla* = 4+2+2), *anupallavi* - 2 periods, *caraṇa* - 2 periods, followed by two periods of *anupallavi*. Another problem emerging from Widdess' analysis of Kaufmann's example is the inappropriate use of the term 'bar' which obviously has been taken over from Kaufmann. Widdess uses a division into bars different from that of Kaufmann, and describes the example in terms of his own version - a fact which might cause confusion if one compares with Kaufmann's example. It has to be stressed, however, that the word 'bar' (and the use of bar lines

in notation) applied to Indian music is generally misleading, for we have to deal with melody and *tāla* sections (*tālāṅga, tālāvarta* in South India, *vibhāg* in North India) rather than bar-like sub-divisions.

5. Finally, the overall structure of the example may be given here according to the KMM version.

   pallavi (2x)

   anupallavi

   caraṇa

   anupallavi

   pallavi

which may be read as:

A		pallavi	
	(a_1)		(pallavi*)
B		anupallavi	
	(a_1)		(pallavi*)
C		caraṇa	
	b_1		anupallavi
	a_1		pallavi

*according to modern performance practice

(This structure underlines the fact that we have to deal with a *kṛti* rather than a *kīrtana*.)

(d) *Ālāpana* and *tāna*

An aspect not mentioned so far is the introductory sections - *ālāpana* and *tāna*, which may preceed a *kṛti* performance. It is not the purpose of this paper to offer a detailed analysis of the structures of *ālāpana* and *tāna*; the following paragraphs, therefore, may be considered as a brief summary of the main characteristic features.[15]

The *ālāpana* (literally 'discourse') is an improvised prelude without fixed meter. The function of the *ālāpana* is to describe the *rāga* by introducing its characteristic notes, melody phrases and ornaments in every detail. As there

is no fixed meter in *ālāpana*, each note can be played and repeated as long and as often as it is required by the structure of the *rāga*. The phrases of the *ālāpana* form rising and falling arches. In a vocal *ālāpana*, the singer uses meaningless syllables like *ta da ri nam* etc., in some cases the name of a deity may also be used (Kuckertz 1981:39f). The melodic structure of the *ālāpana* is organized according to various rules. The first rule is the gradual ascent from lower to upper registers, thus making the significant notes of the *rāga* successively central notes of the individual melody phrases. Once having reached the highest pitch, the melody descends rather gradually to the tonic.

At this point it is perhaps appropriate to draw the attention to two main areas of difference between the South Indian *ālāpana* and the North Indian *ālāp*: firstly, the very long and stretched notes which characterize the slow stage of North Indian *ālāp* (also called *rāgālāp*) are dissolved into short melody phrases in *ālāpana*. Secondly, whereas the melody of the *ālāp* descends fairly soon from the highest pitch back to the tonic, in *ālāpana* the melody shows as gradual a descent as it moves in ascent.[16] The basic structure of *ālāpana* and *ālāp*, however, is the same; the single melody phrases of the *ālāpana* show an overall development similar to that of the single notes of *ālāp*.

SambSIM (III, 137) mentions another aspect which should be kept in mind when analysing the melodic structure of *ālāpana* in the context of a *kṛti* performance: "In this connection it may be mentioned that a person who performs an ālāpana of a rāga with the background of a kṛti in his mind, suffers from a certain limitation. A kṛti is an exposition of a particular aspect of a rāga. The phrases figuring in a kṛti dominate his imagination and he finds it difficult to go beyond them and give an elaborate ālāpana. Persons wishing to attempt a detailed ālāpana of a rāga would do well to think of the rāga a whole and start the ālāpana and not be obsessed by a particular composition in it."

In extended performances, the *ālāpana*, which is always performed in slow tempo, may be followed by a faster section called *tāna* (Sanskr. *tan* 'to stretch, extend') or *madhyamakāla* (*madhya* - medium, *kāla* - time)[17]. Although the *tāna* does not have a fixed matter, its short melody notes, which are all of equal duration, are organized in groups of two or three. The structuring *tāla* periods, however, are absent. Because of the dominance of tone repetitions, the melody appears to develop in stretched phrases, but these

phrases form rising and falling arches as do the single notes of the *ālāpana*. The rule of the gradual ascent to successively higher registers using the main *rāga* notes as central points for the melodic development is also followed in *tāna*. At the end of each sub-section, a short phrase in slower tempo without metric pulse may be added. Usually, the *tāna* repeats in a summarized form the outline of the preceding *ālāpana*.

Both *ālāpana* and *tāna* are 'accompanied' by the drone of the *tamburā* alone. The horizontal wooden barrel drum *mṛdaṅga*, which accompanies the composition, joins in when the singer starts the *kṛti* composition at the conclusion of *ālāpana* or *tāna*.

As for the historical development, the concept of *ālāpana* is older than the *kīrtana* form and any other musical form both in South and in North India. As a separate genre, *ālāpana* has its origin presumably in the pre-13th centuries, and it may be considered as a common starting point for a different but basically parallel development of vocal genres in South and North Indian classical music. The earliest evidence of *ālāpana* is to be found in the *Saṃgītaratnākara* which gives a detailed description of *rāgālāpana* or *rāgālapti* as it is called in this source (SR III. 189b-96. cf. Widdess 1981:155ff). Unlike *dhruva prabandha*, the concept of *rāgālapti* can be applied to both South and North Indian music.

(e) Conclusions

Before proceeding to further comparison with the *dhrupad* structure, the main observations made in this chapter will be summarized here as 1-6 :

1. The earliest, still preserved forms of South Indian classical music are the *divyanāma kīrtanas* of Tyāgarāja. No written evidence, however, exists for the *kīrtana* form at the time of its origin, i.e. the 14-15th centuries. Therefore, comparison with the North Indian *dhrupad* form can be based only on the *kṛti/kīrtana* form of the 18/19th centuries.

2. *Divyanāma kīrtanas* and *kṛtis* differ from each other in the content of their poetry and in their musical structures. *Kṛti* is a concert form which developed out of *kīrtana* in the late 18th century. Nowadays, South Indian concert programs are dominated by *kṛtis*; *kīrtanas* have become rare.

3. *Kīrtanas* are devotional music; their poetry is based on a sacred theme. Musically, they are characterized by multiple *caraṇas* all of which have to be sung because of the sacred value of their texts. *Divyanāma kīrtanas* may be further sub-divided into those of *ekadhātu* and of *dvidhātu* type. The *kīrtana* is an exclusively vocal form.

4. The *kṛti* is an art form which is valued for its aesthetic content. *Kṛtis* may be perfomed either vocally or instrumentally, although they are intended primarily for vocal performance, i.e. all *kṛtis* are based on a text. They may have one or more *caraṇas*. *Saṃgati* and decorative sections like *ciṭṭasvara* and *svara sāhitya* may be added; these are a distinctive feature of *kṛti*.

5. A structural model which may be applied to both *kṛti* and *kīrtana* is represented by the *kṛti* structure.

6. *Kṛti* performances may be preceded by an improvised prelude called *ālāpana* and, in extended performances, also by a faster section called *tāna*. As a separate genre, *ālāpana* originated in the pre-13th centuries, and it may be considered as a basis for musical development in both South and North India.

III. The *dhrupad* form

Under the influence of various Muslim invasions from the 12th century onwards, North Indian classical music has taken a development largely determined by its social and political background. Whereas the South Indian tradition is characterized by its steady dominance of Hindu culture and South Indian classical music and, therefore, is strongly associated with temples (although with courts as well), North Indian music developed into an art form and lost its purely religious character which it preserved in the South. South Indian musicians were mostly Hindus, including even high-caste Brahmans; Hindustani music from about the 17th to the 19th centuries was performed mainly by Muslim musicians or by Hindu musicians who converted to Islam. As an art form, North Indian music was largely associated with courts. The religious element, however, is not therefore less significant, and especially North Indian *dhrupad* performances may be regarded as an act of religious devotion; their significance as a musical performance may be secondary. The religious topics of *dhrupad* compositions are mainly taken from Hindu

mythology, and they are performed by both Hindu and Muslim musicians. Muslim topics are rather exceptions, though they do occur occasionally.

The *dhrupad* style (from the Sanskrit *dhruva*: 'fixed', hence 'refrain', and *pada*: 'verse'), the oldest genre of Hindustani vocal music, goes back to a type of vocal composition called *dhrupad prabandha*, first described in the 13th century by Śārṅgadeva (SR IV:315ff). As a style of Hindu - Muslim court music, *dhrupad* has been developed in four traditions between the 14th and 16th centuries, and it was the dominating style at the court of the Mughal ruler, Akbar, in the second half of the 16th century. In the early 17th century a new style, called *khyāl* (literally 'imagination', 'fantasy'), developed out of *dhrupad*. The musicians preferred the new *khyāl* style for it demands less intellectual and vocal discipline on the part of the performer than *dhrupad* and it gives more freedom for an elaborate vocal technique (cf. Kuckertz 1981, Widdess 1983). Nowadays, *dhrupad* is very rare and only few singers performs it, although recently various attempts of its revival have been made.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to present a detailed description of the *dhrupad* form, for this has been done already by various authors.[18] The following paragraphs will offer a brief summary of the main structural characteristics of *dhrupad*.

(a) The *dhrupad* composition

Dhrupad compositions, like *kīrtanas*, are intended only for vocal performance; the text (on religious themes) is of essential significance. The *dhrupad* composition is accompanied by the drum *pakhāvaj*, the North Indian equivalent to the South Indian *mṛdaṅga*. According to modern accounts, *dhrupad* consists of the following sections[19]:

ālāpa[20] - an introduction devoid of text and meter (*tāla*)[21], sung to meaningless syllables (ah, nah, tom, nom etc.), to solmization syllables (sa, ri, ga etc.) or sometimes to words like *hari om*, and accompanied by the *tamburā* alone

sthāyī - the first line of the *dhrupad* poem sung to a melody based on the first tetrachord of the middle octave and the notes of the lower octave

antarā - the second line of the poem sung to a melody using the upper tetrachord of the middle octave and the notes of the higher octave

saṃcārī - the development, in which the last two lines of the poem are combined with melodic material drawn from the *sthāyī* and the *antarā*. The ensuing variations built on that melodic material use the notes of all three octaves.

ābhoga - the concluding section of the *dhrupad*, repeats the melody from the *sthāyī*. Special rhythmical variations are now introduced in which the time value of the notes is diminished, i.e. they have only half, one third or one fourth of their original value.

Comparison with example 13, a *dhrupad* consisting of all four sections, shows considerable differences in the melodic movement of the last two sections, *saṃcārī* and *ābhoga*. The foregoing description, indeed, is based on a confusion of terminology. In this context, Widdess (1981:163) criticizes that "according to several modern accounts of dhrupad.... the combined saṃcārī-ābhog is misleadingly termed saṃcārī. The term ābhog is then applied to a repetition of the mukhṛā [i.e. a phrase derived from the sthāyī which is repeated after sthāyī, antarā and at the end of the composition] or sthāyī at the conclusion of the song. This terminology is open to question, because the so-called ābhog is not a distinct section either in text or melody, but merely a repetition of the mukhṛā (which is repeated elsewhere) or sthāyī". Kuckertz (1981:40) reproduces the description by te Nijenhuis (1974:81f), but omits the whole *saṃcārī* section. The omission of the term *saṃcārī* may be justified for it does not occur in the context of *dhrupad* before the 19th century; the musical structure to which the term is misleadingly applied, however, is an essential part of the *dhrupad* form at least for theoretical accounts. For further investigation and as a basis of comparison with *kṛti/kīrtana*, the *dhrupad* sections will be defined as follows:

sthāyī - the first line of the *dhrupad* poem sung to a melody moving in the lower register of the middle octave

antarā - the second line of the poem sung to a melody ascending to the upper tonic and above it

saṃcārī/
ābhoga - the section which introduces the third (*saṃcārī*) and fourth (*ābhoga*) lines of the poem and which repeats the melodic movement of *sthāyī* and *antarā* respectively

mukhṛā - a melodic phrase derived from the *sthāyī* and repeated after each section, i.e. after *sthāyī, antarā* and *saṃcārī/ābhoga*, but not between *saṃcārī* and *ābhoga*

The overall structure, represented by example 13, appears as follows (cf. Widdess 1981:166):

sthāyī

mukhṛā

antarā

mukhṛā

saṃcārī

ābhoga

mukhṛā

In modern performance practice, the last two sections of the *dhrupad*, *saṃcārī* and *ābhoga*, are usually omitted in order to allow more time for improvisation (cf. examples 20-22). On completion of the composition, two types of variations may follow: either the composition is sung in strict diminution (*lay-bāṃṭ*) (example 14), or the words are set in cross-rhythm against the *tāla* (*bol-bāṃṭ*). The actual realization of the improvised sections will depend on the particular *dhrupad* tradition. The *dhrupad* performance is concluded by a repetition of the beginning of the *sthāyī*.

(b) *Ālāp* and *nom tom*

In most cases, dhrupad performances are preceded by an extended *ālāp* in which the single notes of the *rāga* are gradually introduced and developed in lower, middle and upper octaves in free tempo. The slow stage of *ālāp*, the *rāgālāp*, is characterized by very long and stretched notes - unlike the South Indian *ālāpana* where long notes are usually dissolved into shorter phrases. In *ālāp*, the singer uses meaningless syllables or words like *hari om*. The *rāgālāp* may be followed by a section called *nom tom* in which a metric pulse[22] is introduced as in South Indian *tāna*. The *nom tom* generally consists of two sub-sections in medium and fast tempo respectively, or alternatively of sections in slow, medium and fast speeds (cf. Widdess 1981:145, footnote; quoted below).[23]

The stages of *ālāp* are more often termed *vilambit* (slow), *madhya* (medium) and *drut* (quick) *ālāp*. In this case, the term '*vilambit ālāp*' denotes the *rāgālāp*, and '*madhya*' and '*drut ālāp*' are applied to successively faster sections of *nom tom*. As pointed out by Widdess (1981:145, footnote), "this terminology is in some respect misleading, (a) because the distinction between rāgālāp and nom tom is between tempo rubato and tempo giusto, and between vocal and instrumental style...., rather than between slow and faster speeds; and (b) because the nom tom may itself comprise sections in slow, medium and fast speeds." The essential feature for the distinction between *rāgālāp* and *nom tom* is indeed the change from *tempo rubato* to *tempo giusto* and not from slow to faster speeds. The sections, *vilambit*, *madhya* and *drut ālāp*, of course, exist, but they are not necessarily equivalent to *rāgālāp* and *nom tom* respectively. To be more concrete, in many cases the *madhya ālāp* starts earlier than the *nom tom*, i.e. the singer changes from slow to medium tempo before he introduces a metric pulse. The *nom tom* itself is usually sub-divided into two sections which are termed here *madhya* (medium) and *drut* (quick) sections. These terms must not be confused with '*madhya*' and '*drut ālāp*': while the *drut* section of *nom tom* is identical with the *drut ālāp*; the *madhya* stage of *nom tom*, however, is not equivalent to the *madhya ālāp*. Furthermore, the tempo may also change periodically: slow - medium - (slow) - medium - fast - (medium) - fast. Finally, the development never changes abruptly, but always gradually.

As for distinction "between vocal and instrumental style", the "nom tom style, which is derived from the *jor* and *jhālā* styles of plucked string instruments, ...is analogous to the South Indian *tānam*, a style derived from the idiom of the vīṇā,.... which features prominently in the performence of *rāgam-tānam-pallavi* and in instrumental (rarely vocal) kṛti" (Widdess 1981:167).[24] The resemblance of instrumental styles in nom tom can be observed in vocal performances when the singer from time to time introduces a phrase in which he deliberately delays the underlying metric pulse: a parrallel feature occurs in instrumental *jor* or *jhālā* where the performer occasionally stops plucking the *cikārī* strings while pulling the melody string in order to produce as many notes as possible before the sound dies away (cf. examples 16 and 17).

As mentioned earlier, in North Indian *rāgālāp*, stress is laid on the gradual development of individual notes rather than phrases. "Starting from the tonic,

the singer improving first in the lower octave .... Returning to the tonic, he then subjects each note in the middle octave to an elaborate development, eventually reaching the upper tonic, the climax of the *ālāp*. A few notes in the upper octave may be briefly introduced before returning again to the lower tonic" (Widdess 1983:920).

Example 18 (*rāgālāp, rāga Bageśrī*) shows the gradual development of an *ālāp* by 'internal scalar expansion', a method devised by Widdess (1981). The analysis is based on a simplified transcription in which only the overall melodic movement is reflected. Section I starts on the tonic and descends to the lower sixth. Section II moves mainly in the lower octave, reaching the lower tonic (IId). In the second half of section II the melody ascends to the second of the middle octave (IIg-i) before the third and fourth are introduced (IIj). Section III and the first half of section IV develop the middle octave, ascending to the sixth and seventh. The upper tonic is eventually reached in IVd. The following sections (V to VIII) repeat the melodic movement of section IV; they are omitted here. In section IX, further notes of the upper octave are introduced, namely, the upper second (IXa), third and fourth (IXb). Then, as described above, the melody descends rapidly to the tonic and below it (IXc-g), concluding at the tonic.

As for the faster stages of *nom tom*, "the melodic outline of nom tom usually echoes the rising and falling 'arches' of the rāgālāp, although less attention may be given to the development of individual notes" (Widdess 1981:167). This is proved by examples 19 and 20, applying the procedure of internal scalar expansion to the medium and fast stages of *nom tom*. The single sections of *vilambit*, *madhya* and *drut ālāp* correspond to each other as follows :[25]

ālāp (*rāga Bageśrī*)

vilambit	*madhya*	*drut*
Ia-c	Ia	
IIa/d	Ib	
IIe	Ic	
IIg/h	Id	
IIf	Ie	

IIj	IIa	
	IIb	
IIIa/b	IIc	
IVa	IId	Ia
IIIa/b	IIe	
IVb	IIIa	
IVc (Ist half)	IIIb	
	IIIc	Ia
IVc	IIId	
IVd	Va	Ib, II, VIII, IX
IXa	Vb	
	Vc	IV, V, VI
IXe	Vd	IX, (VIII, Xb+c)

As can be seen from this comparison, in successively faster sections less stress is laid on the melodic development in lower registers, and the melodic phrases of the fast stage generally include a wider range of notes, though organized in rising and falling arches like the single notes of the *rāgālāp*.

A final aspect deserves to be taken into consideration. There must be a certain balance between *ālāp* and the *dhruapd* composition including improvisation. Thus, when a slow composition is performed without improvisation, it is likely to be preceded by a *rāgālāp* only; the *nom tom* will be omitted. This is particularly the case with *dhrupads* whose content is so deeply devotional that improvisation would not be appropriate. The *dhrupad* performance with its gradual changes and expansion in *ālāp* appears as a single, organic whole, and this structure reflects those principles which are of course fundamental to Indian philosophy - and in its content, *dhrupad* represents indeed an act of deep religious devotion.

IV. '*Dhrupad/Kirtana* form'?

This chapter aims at the comparison between the *dhrupad* form and the *kṛti/kīrtana* form under various aspects and on the basis of the facts pointed out in the preceding chapters, thus attempting to provide an answer to the question whether a '*dhrupad/kīrtana* form' exists. It may be hypothesized in advance that there is no general answer; the possible answers will differ from

each other, depending on their actual context. The following sections summarize the main points made with respect to *kṛti/kīrtana* and *dhrupad*, and particular stress will be laid on similarities and differences between these two forms.

(a) Historical development

The problems we face from the historical point of view have been stated already in the introduction; it is therefore not necessary to repeat them here. A historical overview over the development of vocal genres in South and North India from the pre-13th century onwards shows obvious parallels in both traditions:

SOUTH INDIA

A	B	C	D
rāga-ālāpana tāna	kīrtana/pada	divyanāma kīrtana/ kṛti	pada, varṇa, jāvali, daru, tillāna
pre-13C	14-15C	18-19C	18-19C

NORTH INIDA[26]

A	B	C	D
ālāp: slow medium fast	dhrupad: dhrupad dhamār fast dhrupad	khyāl slow fast	thumrī/ dādrā/ bhajan/ ghazal etc.
pre-13C	15-16C	17-18C	19C

The *ālāp* is the starting point common to both traditions, originating in the pre-13th centuries and described in the *Saṃgītaratnākara*. A different, but parallel development can be followed from there on. The parallels become particularly obvious if we take into consideration that this development, apart from historical order, reflects also the sequence of genres in performance (in modern performance practice) as well as the progressions from 'serious' to 'light' styles, from sacred to secular content and, in North India, from male to female performers. Vertically, the development shows progression from simple to more complex structures (with exceptions depending on the particular performance). These principles of progression apply to both South

and North Indian music (again, with occasional exceptions at least for South India).

These facts prove only a parallel historical development of vocal genres in North and South India. They do not tell anything about the forms themselves. Thus, *kīrtana* has taken a historical development parallel to that of the *dhrupad* form. Both originate presumably in the 14/15th centuries - the dates of origin are better preserved in the South, because in the South Indian tradition, individual composers have played an important role, as distinct from the North where one refers to musical traditions (*gharānās*) as a whole rather than to individuals. Parallels in the historical development, however, do not denote parallel *musical* structures or forms, and therefore the question about a '*dhrupad/kīrtana* form' cannot be approached from the historical perspective unless information about the *kīrtana* form at the time of its origin is available. With respect to the following aspects of the argument, the fact that *kīrtana* and *dhrupad* have a parallel historical development should be kept in mind.

(b) Musical structure

1. *Ālāp*. As mentioned above, the concept of *ālāp* and its origin are shared by both the North and the South Indian traditions. The further development from the 14th century onwards shows strong similarities and parallels in both traditions. As for the musical structure of *ālāp* and *ālāpana*, the underlying principles are largely the same though details may differ. Thus the principles of expansion and gradual development of characteristic melody phrases apply to both *rāgālāp* and *rāgālāpana*, likewise the repetition of the melodic development of the slow stage in *nom tom/tāna*. The main difference between *rāgālāp* and *rāgālāpana* is the focus on single notes in the former and on melody phrases in the latter. The present study does not offer a detailed analysis of South Indian *ālāpana/tāna* compatible to the method of 'internal scalar expansion' used for the description of the melodic development in *rāgālāp/nom tom*, but it may be hypothesized that the overall result would be the same if instead of single notes the structuring melody phrases would be subjected to analysis. *Ālāpana* and *tāna* are the South Indian equivalents to *rāgālāp* and the medium stage of *nom tom* respectively. In South Indian music, however, there is no equivalent to the fast stage of *nom tom*.[27]

2. *Composition.* For the musical compositions themselves, i.e. *kṛti* or *kīrtana* and *dhrupad*, the comparison becomes more problematic. The following aspects deserve particular consideration: (a) melodic movement, (b) treatment of the text, (c) performance practice and ornamental styles and (d) the preference for particular *rāgas* and *tālas*.

(a) melodic movement. The melodies of the principal sections of *kṛti/kīrtana* and *dhrupad* behave in a similar way. Thus, both *pallavi* and *sthāyī* move in the lower tetrachord of the middle octave, descending occasionally to the lower octave. *Anupallavi* and *antarā* ascend to the upper tonic in a characteristic '*anupallavi/antarā* formula'; the melody moves in the upper registers. A melodic movement similar to both forms can also be observed in *saṃcārī/ ābhoga* and *caraṇa*: as for the former, *sthāyī* material is used in the *saṃcārī* section, whereas the *caraṇa* is based on melodic material of *pallavi* and *anupallavi*; both *saṃcārī/ābhoga* and *caraṇa* use the entire melodic range. A further characteristic shared by both forms is the repetition of a phrase derived from the first section at the conclusion of each section: *mukhṛā* in *dhrupad*, and *pallavi* (or parts of it) in *kṛti/kīrtana*. Parts of the *caraṇa* text are frequently sung to the melody of the *anupallavi* (cf. example 12), a feature which has its counterpart in *ābhogas* which simply repeat the melody of the *antarā* (cf. example 13). Summarized, the structure of *kṛti/kīrtana* and *dhrupad* appears as follows and in accordance with the structure suggested by Widdess (1981:166):

melodic structure		*dhrupad*				*kṛti/kīrtana*	
A		sthāyī		A		pallavi	
	a_1		mukhṛā		a_1		pallavi
B*		antarā		B*		anupallavi	
	a_1		mukhṛā		a_1		pallavi
A_1		saṃcārī/		C		caraṇa	
B_1*		ābhog		(B_1*)			(anupallavi)[28]
	a_1		mukhṛā		a_1		pallavi

* high register

(Additional composed parts like *saṃgati* and decorative sections [*ciṭṭasvara* etc], which occur only in *kṛti*, may be left aside because they have no relevance for the overall *kṛti/kīrtana* structure.)

The model shows that *kṛti/kīrtana* and *dhrupad* are parallel forms from t e point of view of their melodic structure which justifes - in terms of melodic movement - a '*dhrupad/kīrtana* form'.

(b) treatment of the text. The *dhrupad* poem usually consists of four lines, each one of which is introduced in one of the four *dhrupad* sections respectively, i.e. both *sthāyī* and *antarā* consist of one line each, and *saṃcārī/ ābhoga* are equivalent in length to *sthāyī* and *antarā* together. As for *kṛti/ kīrtana*, the textual standard structure appears as follows: *pallavi* - 1 line = 1/ 2 verse, *anupallavi* - 2 lines = 1 verse, *caraṇa* - many lines. The statistical analysis (appendix 1) shows that in 42 percent of the *kṛti/kīrtanas* analysed, the *caraṇa* equals in length *pallavi* and *anupallavi* together (2-2-4 in 35%, 1-1-2 in 7%). In all cases, the *anupallavi* is equal to or longer than the *pallavi*, and the *caraṇa(s)* contain more text than either of the preceding sections. To sum up, the textual relations in *kṛti/kīrtana* and *dhrupad* may turn out to be similar, but in their very nature they are different for they are based on different conceptions.

(c) performance practice and ornamental styles. This aspect shows considerable differences between the musical forms in question. First of all there is the dispensability of certain sections: whereas in modern performance practice of *dhrupad* the *saṃcārī/ābhoga* section is omitted in order to allow more space for improvisation, in *kṛti/kīrtana*, the *caraṇa* can never be omitted. In *kīrtana*, however, the *anupallavi* is a dispensable part, as distinct from *dhrupad* where the *antarā* is an essential part of the composition.[29] As for stylistic features, the *dhrupad* style is characterized by the fact that ornamentation is reduced to a minimum in order to underline the sacred content of the text. This feature has a certain counterpart in *kīrtana* where *saṃgati* and other decorative parts which serve the demonstration of technical skills are not allowed because of the sacred value of the text. In *kṛti*, however, we find an elaborate vocal and instrumental technique, and ornamentation may reach a grade compatible to that of North Indian *ṭhumrī* and *ṭappa*. Furthermore, as *kṛtis* are intended primarily for the presentation of the musical skills of the

performer (it should be kept in mind, however, that the architect of the *kṛti* is Tyāgarāja, who is regarded a Hindu saint), they may be performed either vocally or on instruments, whereas both *kīrtana* and *dhrupad* are exclusively vocal forms.

(d) particular *rāgas* and *tālas*. Both *kṛti* and *dhrupad* may be in any *rāga*, only in *kīrtana* the range of possible *rāgas* is slightly restricted, excluding 'scholarly *rāgas*' (SambSIM III, 136). As for *tāla*, *dhrupad* compositions are set to a limited number of *tālas*, mostly to *Cautāl* (12 beats). *Kṛti* and *kīrtana* use in most cases *Ādi tāla* (4-2-2 beats), apart from *Rūpaka* (2-4-2-4), *Tripuṭa* (3-4-3-4) and *Jhampa tāla* (2-3-2-3).

3. *Improvisation.* A final aspect to be considered are the improvised sections sung on completion of the *dhrupad* or *kṛti* composition, namely, *lay-bāṃṭ* and *bol-bāṃṭ* for *dhrupad* and *niṟaval* and *kalpana svara* for *kṛti*. In *dhrupad*, *lay-bāṃṭ* is strictly speaking a composed section for it consists of the basic composition sung at different speeds. *Lay-bāṃṭ* has no equivalent in the *kṛti/kīrtana* form; *madhyamakāla sāhitya* may perhaps use a similiar technique, but it is a section composed in advance whereas *lay-bāṃṭ* is performed within the sequence of improvisations following the *dhrupad* composition, and at what point it is introduced is up to the performer; he may decide in the course of the performance whether or not he is going to sing *lay-bāṃṭ*. *Bol - bāṃṭ* i.e. setting the words to new melodic phrases and in cross-rhythm against the *tāla*[30], is also peculiar to *dhrupad* and has no counterpart in South India. On the other hand, *niṟaval* and *kalpana svara* are peculiar to the *kṛti* form and cannot be related to North Indian types of improvisation. Finally, any kind of improvisation depends to a considerable degree on the individual performer and on the tradition he belongs to.

(d) Conclusions

In order to answer the question asked at the beginning of this chapter it will be convenient to summarize the results of the foregoing comparison in §§ 1-5.

§1. Vocal genres in South and North India have undergone a different but parallel historical development between the 13-18th centuries. They have their common starting point in *ālāp* which existed as a separate genre already in the pre-13th centuries. The *dhrupad* and *kṛti/kīrtana* forms

originated presumably at the same time (14-15th c.). They are therefore likely to be historically parallel forms.

§2. As there is no information preserved about the 14th century *kīrtana* form, the question about a '*dhrupad/kīrtana* form' cannot be approached from the historical prespective. The basis for comparison is 18/19th century forms.

§3. *Ālap* and *ālāpana* share basic principles but differ in detail as do *rāga* and *tāla* systems of South and North India. The concepts of *ālāp*, *rāga* and *tāla* are based on the *Saṃgītaratnākara* and earlier treatises.

§4. From the point of view of the melodic (and to a certain degree also textual) structures, *kṛti/kīrtana* and *dhrupad* can be considered as '*dhrupad/kīrtana* form', because their structural sections show similar characteristics.

§5. *Kṛti/kīrtana* and *dhrupad* differ considerably in their performance practice, ornamental styles and improvised sections.

Summarizing, we may argue that the '*dhrupad/kīrtana* form' exists as a musical structure. Whether or not it exists also as a historical form cannot be answered as long as no written evidence about the *kīrtana* form at the time of its origin is available. For this reason, any comparison with *dhruva prabandha*, which would be highly speculative, is excluded from this paper.

V. Conclusions

In conclusion, it is perhaps appropriate at least to mention some of those aspects not included in the present study.

First of all, the purpose of this essay was not a detailed musical analysis of *kṛti/kīrtana* and *dhrupad* but rather a historical-comparative study on the basis of theoretical accounts. It would be a useful task for further investigation, however, to bring the musical evidence for the theoretical facts by analysing *kṛti/kīrtana* and *dhrupad* in their deeper musical structures and in the context of concrete performances. This may include a detailed comparative analysis of *ālāpana/tāna* and *ālāp/nom tom* by applying the method of 'internal scalar expansion' to both these concepts. One of the major constraints for theoretical comparison of 'standard forms' is the existence of many different musical traditions. Thus, the *kīrtanas* of Tyāgarāja are transmitted in numerous traditions; for the purpose of the present paper I have decided to concentrate on *one* source, i.e. on one tradition, namely, the *Kṛti-maṇi-mālai* and the

tradition of Vīṇā Dhanammāḷ and Raṅgarāmānuja Ayyangar. As for *dhrupad*, the analysis is based on the Dagar *gharānā*.

Not included is the analysis of the *dhrupad* and *kīrtana* poetry. This aspect provides enough material for a separate in-depth study. It should be stated here that in *kīrtana* and *kṛti*, the musical structure is strongly influenced by the structure of the poetry; thus for example *samaṣṭi caraṇas* are defined exclusively in terms of rhyme *agreement*. Furthermore, the content of the texts is also a significant feature for the distinction between *divyanāma kīrtanas* and *kṛtis* of Tyāgarāja: whereas Tyāgarāja's *kīrtanas* express mostly disappointment at being rejected by the deity, his *kṛtis* are mere praise of the deity.[31]

The third aspect excluded from the paper is the comparison with historical forms, namely, *dhruva prabandha*, using the comparison between post-18th century *kṛti/kīrtana* and *dhrupad* in order to follow back from *kṛti/kīrtana* 'via *dhrupad* to *dhruva prabandha* as suggested in the introduction. Such a comparison may be interesting in itself, but on the basis of the material available at present the results would be highly questionable. Current research in the religious tradition of the Madhva families in South India may perhaps provide valuable information as a basis for further investigation.

Finally, there is the hope that historical investigations in the South Indian music tradition will be successful and may throw light on the historical development of musical forms in South India, and could perhaps even provide information about the original *kīrtana* form. However, there is still a wide range of problems and questions waiting for solution, and much work has to be done in order to find the appropriate answers.

Notes

1. The presumed dates of the origin of dhrupad differ from each other, compare Kuckertz (1980:40): 14-16th c., Widdess (1983:920): 15-17th c.
2. Existing sources contain only the words of the songs of Purandara Dāsa and his contemporaries in South India in the 14/15th centuries: the melodies have been transmitted orally. The only aid to follow back these melodies may be given by a religious tradition founded by the Brahman philosopher Madhva (1197-1280). This tradition is very popular in Karnataka, and the Dāsa singers of the 14/15th centuries followed it as well as do the families who continued their musical tradition up to the present day. Therefore, investigations in these musical traditions of the Madhva families may provide helpful information about the kīrtanas of the Dāsa singers. (Kuckertz, in press)

3. RS, V, 15-16 mentions musical form in the context of rāga, saying that "[inferior rāgas] are...unsuitable for compositions like *tāya, ālāpa and prabandha*".
4. Te Nijenhuis (1974) lists musical forms of both traditions, but does not attempt to relate them to each other.
5. cf. Kuckertz (in press)
6. According to SambSIM (III, 134) the term 'kṛti' had been used already by the Tālapākam composers and by Purandara Dāsa. It has to be stressed, however, that this term in its post-18th century meaning denotes a separate musical form which differs essentially from divyanāma kīrtana. It may be doubted that a separate 'kṛti' form existed already in the 14/15th centuries; it is rather likely that the term used in this context refers to any kind of musical compositions, according to its literal meaning 'yad kṛtaṃ tad kṛti' - 'that which is composed (literally : made) is a kṛti'.
7. Kaufmann (1976:2) mentions a fragment of a kṛti in rāga Kanakāṅgī by Tyāgarāja which is "the only known song (kṛti) in this rāga" and which "shows the pallavi which is followed immediately by a caraṇa. The anupallavi is omitted. After the caraṇa the pallavi has to be repeated". A comparison with the Kṛti- maṇi-ṁālai (second edition 1965; henceforth KMM) shows that there exists indeed only one single kṛti in rāga Kanakāṅgī, namely *Śrī gaṅa nātham* (KMM vol. 2,p. 67f). The KMM example, however, is different from Kaufmann's example, and it consists of all three sections including the anupallavi. Whether Kaufmann's example represents a kīrtana with omitted anupallavi or a kṛti with samaṣṭi caraṇa is open to question.
8. Widdess (1981:164) comes to the wrong conclusion that "the whole caraṇam may be omitted in shorter examples (this is often the case with kṛti compositions...) which *therefore resemble short dhrupads or khyāls*". [My italics] (for the comparison with dhrupad see chapter 4, below)
9. This structure fits exactly with the 'kīrṭana' model described by Widdess (1981:166). It has to be pointed out, however, that the structure in question applies to kṛti and not, as suggested by Widdess, to kīrtana (although its use for kīrtana may be justified under certain circumstances, compare p. 17, below).
10. For a detailed discussion of the kṛti form see Kuckertz (1970:125ff)
11. This structure is assumed to be standard in kṛti and kīrtana. However, the upper octave is frequently reached already in the pallavi (cf. examples 2, 5, 6/7, 8/9, 10/11 and 12).

12. Widdess (1981:145/167 and 1983:924) uses the term *anuloma* in connection with kṛti: "The [kṛti] composition is usually in medium or fast tempo, and may be followed, as in dhrupad, by strict augmentation and diminution (anuloma)" (1983:924). Anuloma is a technique used in a form called pallavi, "denoting in musical terminology an extended and elaborate fantasia in which the performers tax to the utmost their skill in melodic and rhythmic improvisation" (Widdess 1975:62). Anuloma "consists in keeping the tāla constant and singing the pallavi [i.e. the *form* pallavi] at double and quadruple speeds", and has its counterpart in pratiloma, i.e. "keeping the speed of singing constant but reckoning the tāla with the hand at double and quadruple speeds" (SambSIM IV, 33). These techniques, however, apply exclusively to the pallavi form; they are never used in kṛti or kīrtana.

13. Comparing the structures of kṛti and dhrupad, Widdess (1981:167) points out that "the strict diminution of lay-bāṃṭ has its counterpart in South Indian *anuloma* which may also involve augmentation". Anuloma, as mentioned earlier, has no place in kṛti, though a parallel to lay-bāṃṭ of dhrupad may be seen in madhyamakāla sāhitya. Augmentation, however, is never involved (compare ciṭṭasvara).

14. In niṟaval, "the melody is varied while the rhythm and the words of the song remain intact" (Widdess 1981:167), whereas completely new material is introduced in the kalpana svara. The main difference between these sections, however, is that the niṟaval is sung with text (and to new melodic material) while the kalpana svara is sung with solmization syllables.

15. For a detailed discussion of ālāpana see Kuckertz (1970:113ff)

16. Kuckertz (1981:39) states that the melody of the ālāpana, once having reached the highest pitch, returns relatively soon to the tonic. Comparison with various ālāpana performances, however, proves rather the version of the gradual descent as distinct from North India rāgālāp.

17 Comparison with kṛti performances on commercial recordings (33 ESX.6001, 33 ESX.6002, ECLP.2324, Nonesuch H-72018) as well as with concert performances has shown that the tāna in practice is rarely performed (the above-mentioned recordings do not offer one single example of tāna). In extended performances the musicans tend to focus on the kalpana svara.

18. cf. te Nijenhuis (1974), Śrīvastava (1980), and particularly Widdess (1981)

19. te Nijenhuis (1974:81f) and Kaufmann (1968:25f)

20. For a more detailed discussion of ālāp, see below

21. te Nijenhuis (1974:81) says "rhythm (tāla)." The term 'rhythm' is incorrect for two reasons: firstly, 'tāla' corresponds to meter rather than rhythm (although

commonly confused) and, secondly, in the context of ālāp we have to deal with the absence of a fixed *meter*. Kuckertz (1981:40) quotes fom the description by te Nijenhuis, but changes the expression in question to "meter (tāla)". (cf. p.27, footnote 23, below).

22. Widdess (1981:144) uses the term "rhythmic pulse" which is in some respect incorrect, because "the distinction between rāgālāp and nom tom is between tempo rubato and tempo giusto" (Widdess 1981:145, footnote); and tempo giusto is characterized by the presence of an underlying *metric* - not rhythmic- pulse which provides the basis for the development of rhythmic elements and structures. (cf. p. 25, footnote 22, above).
23. For the purpose of further analysis and particularly for the comparison with instrumental styles and with the South Indian tāna, the alternative version (Widdess 1981) is rejected here.
24. Be it noted that tāna(m) is not a 'style' as suggested by Widdess, but a structural division which may precede the performance of a South Indian composition like kṛti, pallavi or varṇa and which follows on completion of the ālāpana. The term 'style' applied to South Indian music is generally inappropriate (cf. introduction, p.2)
25. In this particular case the sections vilambit, madhya and drut ālāp are equivalent to rāgālāp, nom tom (madhya) and nom tom (drut) respectively.
26. The scheme for North India has been developed by Richard Widdess, on the basis of which I introduced a similar one for South India.
27. This applies to instrumental music as well: whereas the tāna equals the North Indian jor, there is no equivalent to the jhāla.
28. The possible repetition of the anupallavi refers to the *melody* only, which is usually sung to *caraṇa* text.
29. While, in their meanings, the terms 'antarā' and 'anupallavi' are similiar to each other (antarā: 'intermediate'; anupallavi: 'after root'), the structural divisions denoted by these terms have been introduced at historically different points: the anupallavi is part of the kṛti fully developed by Tyāgarāja in the 19th century, whereas the antarā was introduced with dhrupad, some centuries earlier.
30. Widdess (1981:145) says that in bol-bāṃṭ "the words [are] set to new melodic phrases that are in cross-rhythm against the tāla". This formulation is in some respect incorrect, for it is not the melodic phrases, but the words that are set in cross-rhythm against the tāla.

31. cf. examples 1-5, 7 and 12 for kīrtana, example 10 for kṛti. The content of the text confirms the assumption that examples 7 and 12 have been *originally* kīrtanas.

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APPENDIX : TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF KṚTI/KĪRTANA AND DHRUPAD COMPOSITIONS

Example 1:

		Pāhi rāmacandra rāghava (Tyāgarāja)
pallavi		*pāhi rāmacandra rāghava hare māṃ pāhi rāmacandra rāghava
caraṇa	1	*janaka sutā ramaṉa kāvave gati nīvu gaṉuka naṉṉu vega brovave
	2	enta veṅukoṉṉa nīku nāyandu yisu manta dayaleka yuṉṅurā
	3	kaṣṭhamulaṉu dīrcamaṉṭiṉi nīvuna kiṣṭhadaiva manukoṉṭaṉi
	4	śoghaṉalaku nēṉe pātramā rāma ya śoghaṉalaku nuti pātramā
	5	āṭhalaṉucu dōciyuṉṉado leka nā la lāṭha likhita marma meṭṭadō
	6	ambujākṣa vega jūḍarā nī kaṭhā kṣamvulēṉi jaṉma melarā
	7	nīvu naṉṉu jūḍa veḷarā kaṉṉa kaṉṉa tāvula nē veṅajālarā
	8	naṉṉu brōcuvāru lērurā rāma nī kaṉṉa daiva mendu lēdurā
	9	rāja rāja pūjita prabho hare tyāga rāja rāja rāghava prabhō

* melody of the pallavi

'Oh Rāghava! prrotect me! you are my refuge. Therefore, come to my protection soon. Though I prayed to you much, it is a wonder that you do not show even a particle of mercy to me. I have appealed to you as my chosen deity to redress my troubles. Without your grace, of what use is my existence? You probably regard these as a child's play. Am I a fit person for your test? Is it becoming of great persons to behave like this? This is the time for you to turn

your eyes on me. I cannot go and beg everywhere. I have none else to protect me and there is no God higher than you. You are worshipped by kings of kings. You are the Lord of Tyāgarāja.'

(translation from *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja*)

Example 2:

Śrī rāma jayarāma (Tyāgarāja)

pallavi		śrī rāma jayarāma śrita jaṉa ripu bhīma śṛṅgara guṇa ō rāma
caraṇa	1	jarciṉavāri julakaṉagā tōva na ṉēcuṭa kiṅka gyāyamā ō rāma
	2	durjaṉa bhūiṣṭamuṉa dagiliṉa nē sajjaṉu ṅeṭulaiduṉo ō rāma
	3	yē dāri bōyiṉa nā dāri kaṅṅamu vādāṅedaru gāṉi ō rāma
	4	kali maṉavulu verri calamuṇa tatvamu teliyalēru summī ō rāma
	5	tāmaraku nīru vighamu prapañcamu tatvamu gōdu sumī ō rāma
	6	nē nokaṭeñciṉa nī maṉasu vēraguṭa kē nēramō teliyu ō rāma
	7	gajja muṉṅla mīda dagulukakṉṉa baṭṭa grakuṉa dīya vaśamā ō rāma
	8	acnuga bhavamuṉa tagulukoṉṉa mīda vacnunu nīvaddaku ō rāma
	9	ahirāja śayaṉa nī naṇucu jēsina paṉu lahitamuga dōcenu ō rāma
	10	mahija rīti naṉṉu maṉṉiñciṉa nīdu mhima kemi takkuva ō rāma
	11	bāguga satatamu nī guṇamulu balku tyāgarāja viṉuta ō rāma

'Oh Śrī Rāma, constantly praised by Tyāgarāja for your virtues! Is it fair on your part to harass me still so that I may be slighted by every onlooker? How can I, who have been caught among the wicked, become good and pious?

They cross my way whichever direction I go and enter into vain disputations with me. People of this Kali age cannot know the truth on account of their mad attachment to things. The Universe is unsteady like the drop of water on a lotus leaf and is not the reality. I do not know what offence I have committed that, when my mind goes one way, yours goes in another direction. Is it possible for one to take out, easily and at once, a cloth laid over thorny bushes? Will the mind, that has firmly entangled itself in Samsāra, easily break off and go towards you? Have the services done by me for your sake been taken by you as unpleasant? If you forgive me, as Sītā would, would it detract from your glory in any way?'

(translation from *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja*)

Example 3:

		Tava dāsōham (Tyāgarāja)
pallavi		tava dāsōham tavadāsōham tavadāsōham dāśarāthē
caraṇa	1	vara mṛdu bhaṣu virahita dōṣa naravaravṣu dāśarāthē
	2	sarisija nētra parama pavitra surapati mitra dāśarāthē
	3	niṉṉu koritira nirupama śūra naṉṉelukōra dāśarāthē
	4	maṉaviṉi riṉumā marava samayama iṉakula ghaṉamā dāśarāthē
	5	ghaṉa samṇīla-muṉijaṉa pāla kaṉaka dukūla dāśarāthē
	6	dhara nivaṉṭi daivamu lēdaṉṭi śaraṉaṉukoṉṭi dāśarāthē
	7	āgama viṉuta rāga virahita tyāgarājaṉuta dāśrāthē

'Oh Son of Dasaratha! I am your servant. I have been seeking you. Pray, protect me and listen to my appeal! This is not the time to forget me. Convinced that there is no other God like you in the world, I have taken refuge in you.'

(translation from *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja*)

Example 4:

		Śrī rāma śrī rāma (Tyāgarāja)
pallavi		śrī rāma śrī rāma śrītā maṇōharāma
caraṇa	1	ēlarā nīduya inn̲tain̲a rādaya
	2	caladā sadaya svāmi taḷadayā
	3	ippuṅē lēdaṭa ikhanu brōtuvaṭa
	4	ēppuṅō kaṭa kaṭa yila dayaḷuvanṭa
	5	ikka yī marmamā idi nīku gharmamā
	6	pakkaja vadan̲amā bāguga jūṅumā
	7	ē janma pāpamō ēvari śāpamō
	8	ē nāṭi kōpamō neriya nāpāpamō
	9	ennāla dīnata idi nīhu yōgyatā
	10	paliki beṅkavaṭa parama śāntavaṭa
	11	bhakta kāntuṅaṭa padma nennuṅaṭa
	12	sarvamu nīvata satya rūuṅaṭa
	13	rāga virahita tyāgarājan̲uta

'How is it that I do not get even a particle of your grace? Is this (trial) not sufficient? Oh Merciful one! I cannot bear it. It looks that you will not come to my rescue now. Sometime in future you may think of protecting me. When, alas? And yet you are reputed to be merciful. Is all this still to be secret? Is it fair for you? Pray, treat me well. I don't know the effect of what past old sins of mine is this, my present lot, or whose curse. Or was it occasioned by anger in the past? How long am I to be a forlorn one? Does it redound to your credit? You are reputed to be truthful and perfectly calm and to be the protector of devotees. It is proclaimed that you are everything, the embodiment of Truth and model of detachment.'

(translation from *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja*)

Example 5:

Gata mohā śrītapāla (Tyāgaraja)

pallavi		Gata mohā śritapālādbhuta sītā ramaṇa
caraṇa	1	bhava sarasābhava man̲asa bhavan̲āmara vin̲uta
	2	bhava tāraka sava bhāvan̲a bhava taśara haraṇa
	3	vin̲atāja gaman̲a rāghava mun̲ı pūjita caraṇa
	4	śata kōṭa carita mān̲ava mata bhēdaga daman̲a
	5	kara śobhita śara pāpa timira bhāskara suduṇa
	6	śara jān̲an̲a karuṇukā ravaravāraṇa śaraṇa
	7	nata mān̲asa hitakāra pālita tyāgarāja

'Oh Rāghava! I have been distracted by your beauty. My heart has come closed to non-existence; my mind is prepared for your praise. Your mind is the star which counteracts evil effects in this world of unlawful enjoyment. I have humbly worshipped your feet, oh Rāghava. Separated from you, I am afflicted with pain and my eyes are struck with darkness. Your mercy is my refuge in all these disturbances and noises. Your mind is friendly; you are the protector of Tyāgarāja.'

(translation ST)

Example 6:

Pāhi rāmacandra pālita surēndra (Tyāgarāja)

pallavi		pāhi rāmacandra pālita surēndra parama bhāvan̲a sadguṇa sāndra
caraṇa	1	nīraga nīla mun̲īdra hṛdaya nārada sēvita sārasa nayan̲a
	2	śrīkara rupa sudhākara vadan̲a śōka nivaraṇa sundara ragan̲a
	3	nirvala rupa nindita madan̲a śarmada sakalē śarṇava sadan̲a
	4	rājarājan̲uta rāghava tyāga rāja hṛdāvaya racaṣita naraga

'Oh Rāma! Look upon us mercifully and protect us! You are full of glory, you are the Supreme one. You are like the lotus in the blue water, oh Rāma, worshipped by Nārada. You are blessed with beauty, your face is like the moon. You are curing sorrow and giving delight. The whole dwelling is filled with your joy and happiness. You are praised by kings of kings. You are the Lord of Tyāgarāja.'

(translation ST)

Example 7:

	Rāma nannu brōvarā (Tyāgarāja)
pallavi	rāma nannu brōvarā rēmato lōka bhi
anupallavi	cīma lō brahmalō śiva kēśavāgulalo prēma mīra velugukhaṇḍē birugu vahiñcina sīta
caraṇa	meppulaṇaka kanna tāvu nappu baṭaka virṛauīgi *tappa panulu lēka yuṇḍē tyāgarāja vīnuta sītā

* melody of the anupallavi

'Oh Rāma! Beloved of the world! How is it that you, who are reputed to abide lovingly in all beings from ant to Trimūrtis, do not come to protect me? I have not borrowed money and become indebted, to gain the approbation of people, nor am I given to wrong ways out of haughtiness.'

(translation from *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja*)

Example 8:

	Saṃgīta jñānamu (Tyāgarāja)
pallavi	saṃgīta jñānamu bhaktiviṇā sanmārgamu galadē manasā
anupallavi	bhṛngi nāṭēśa samīraja ghaṭaja matanga nāradā dulu supāsimcē
caraṇa	nyānā nyāyamu delusunu jagamulu māyāmayaṇi delusunu durguṇa kāyajāri ṣaṭripula jayīñcē kāryamu delusunu tyāgarājunīki

'Knowledge of Saṃgīta (Music), bereft of devotion, is valueless and cannot secure salvation. The music practised by Bhaktas like Bhringi, Natesa, Ānjaneya, Agastya, Matanga and Nārada can alone secure it.

Tyāgarāja, who is able to distinguish between Nyāya and Anyāya, who knows that the world is Māyā and who knows also how to conquer the six inward enemies of man, Kāma etc., knows this matter well.'

(translation from *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgagrāja*)

Example 10:

Mākēlarā vicāramu (Tyāgarāja)

pallavi — mākēlarā vicāramu marukanna śrīrāmacandra

anupallavi — sākēta rājakumāra sadbhakta mandāru śrīkara

caraṇa — jata gurci nāṭaka sūtramuṇu jaya mella meccaga karamuniḍa
gati tappaka yāḍiñcēu sumi nata tyāgarāja girīśa vinuta

'Śrī Rāmacandra! Why should I feel any concern, when you hold in your hands the leading strings of all the dolls in the drama which you conduct so unerringly and to the delight of the whole Universe?'

(translation from *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja*)

Example 12:

Cala melarā (Tyāgarāja)

pallavi — cala mēlarā sākēta rāma

anupallavi — valaci bhakti mārgamunutonu ninnu
varṇimcucunna nāṇāpa

caraṇa — ēngu bōgunē nēmi sevugunu
yeccōṭani mōra beṭṭugunu
*dandanalatō proddu pōvaleṇā
tāla jālarā tyāgarāja nuta

*melody of the anupallavi

'Why are you cross with me who have loved you and have been singing your praises with intense devotion? Where could I go? What could I do? To whom could I complain? Is my time to be wasted in all this trickery? I cannot stand it.'

(translation from *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja*)

Example 13:

Yā jagajhūṭha (ascribed Anand Kishor)

sthāyī	yaha jaga jhūṭha jānare mana! saca śivaśakti ko karo vakhāna
antarā	āvata eka jāta calo yahi raha laga rahata sthira sukha pāvata jo nāma prāṇa
saṃcārī	yogayāga tīratha brata saṃyama aura nema dharama karama karata jo nara bhava bhakti baḍho jñāna
ābhog	dhyāna dharo śiva mantra japata pragaṭa ho, kahata navalakiśora vahi nāma pradhāna

sthāyī	O my mind, know this world to be false! Praise the true Śiva-śakti [or praise śiva-śakti as true].
antarā	One [human soul] comes, and goes away, this goes on for ever; He for whom the Name is life itself (prāṇa) finds lasting joy
saṃcārī	Yoga, sacrifice, pilgrimage, vows, temperance and religious custom- that man who performs [these] deeds with devotion of feeling may augment his knowledge.*
ābhog	Meditate upon Śiva, by repeating his mantra he becomes manifest: says Naval Kiśor, *that* name is supreme.

* This line is rather uncertain.

(translation Rupert Snell)

Example 21:

Sundara ho gāī

sthāyī	sundara hõ gāī vrśabhānu ke biloka aī baira ko na bāḍho vṛthā viraha bali āī ki

antarā bhūlā jāta khāna pāna rūpa ranga āna bāna
mānasa ko cetanā na hota cita caī kī

'O fair one, I have fallen under the glance of the hot sun of the month of Cait.

Do not stir up hostility under the yoke of grief at parting!

I forget to eat and drink, my appearance and dress, all my external conduct, for the desire of my heart is not fulfilled!'

(translation from CD notes, JD 642-2)

X	O	2	O	3	4

STHĀYĪ

			(Sh-G) G *(kī) su-*	M P *- n-da-*	N ---------- *rā*
N [-] *ho*	NSh N --- *ho gā -*	-----dP *yī*	P Pmdp *bra- kha*	M MG *- bhā -*	-M G *- na*
P G *ke*	M G ---- *bi - lo -*	-----rS *ka*	Ṇ------------ *ā -*	S P. *yī bai -*	Ṇ Ṇ *ra - na*
Ṇ S *ko*	-S M *ba- ṛho*	-G -G *bṛ -*	gP ----------- *thā*	P N *bi - ra*	N -Sh *nā*
Sh - n *bā -*	rSh N d *lī ā-*	P P *yī kī -*	Sh--G /		

ANTARĀ

G ----------- *bhū -*	M P *la*	N -----------	N ----------- *jā -*	S^h S^h----- *ta*	-------------
S^h----------- *khā*	-S^h S^h n *na pā -*	R^h S^h *na*	N ----------- *rū -*	N N *pa raṅ -*	P P *ga*
N------------ *ā -*	-S^h N ---- *na ā -*	--------P *na*	N ----------- *mā -*	-S^h M^h *na - sa -*	G^h S^h *ko*
N ----------- *ce -*	-S^h N *ta - nā -*	P P *na*	G M *ho -*	P N ---- *ta cit -*	--------N S^h *ta*
N P *cā -*	P P ----- *ha kī*	--------S^h	G /		
X	**O**	**2**	**O**	**3**	**4**

Example 22:

Bhaj re mana (Haridās Dagur)

sthāyī
bhaj re mana, viśvanath jaise mana āve,
dekh yāhū nainana tayīn, jahān-jahān mana jāve

antarā
śayana karata prayanām jān,
nidra lait, gyān re dhyāna,

calat-phirat pradakṣana mana
jahān-tahān mana āve-jāve.

'Pray to the Lord of the universe, oh mind,

Lead the way through the inner eye on the path leading to His place,

Outer body in deep sleep, inner mind on the path of meditation,

Wandering around, seeking the Divine.'

(translation from CD notes, JD 635-2)

STHĀYĪ

X	O	2	O	3	4
M M	MG ${}_gPm$	D P	M ----------	${}_mR$ S_n	R S
bha - ja	*re ma -*	*na*	*vi -*	*śva - na -*	*tha*
S ----------	${}_sM$ G	$GP_{m'}$ P	${}_pND$ N	D P_{m}'	DPM M
jai -	*se*	*ma - na*	*ā -*	*ve*	
M ----------	MG GP -	------- P	${}_pS^{ḥ}$----------	$S^{ḥ}{}_n$ $R^{ḥ}$	$S^{ḥ}$----------
de -	*kha yā -*	*ho*	*nai -*	*na - na*	*ta - (yin)*
$S^{ḥ}$ $S^{ḥ}$	-D $-D_{nd}$	${}_{nd}S^{ḥ}$ -N	$NR^{ḥ}$ $S^{ḥ}$	D N_d	P_{m}' DP
ja - hān -	*ja -*	*hān*	*ma - na*	*jā -*	*ve*

ANTARĀ

X	O	2	O	3	4
M M	MG GP	P P	$S^{ḥ}$ $S^{ḥ}$	$S^{ḥ}$ $S^{ḥ}$	$R^{ḥ}$ $S^{ḥ}$
śa - ya -	*na ka -*	*ra - ta*	*prā - ya -*	*nām jā -*	*na*
$S^{ḥ}$ $S^{ḥ}$	D ${}_dN_p$	N $S^{ḥ}N$	$R^{ḥ}$ $S^{ḥ}N$	D PM'	${}_dP$ M
ni - dra	*lai -*	*ta*	*gyā - na*	*re dhyā-*	*na*
M MG	${}_gP$ P	$S^{ḥ}$ $S^{ḥ}N$	${}_nR^{ḥ}$ $S^{ḥ}$	N $NS^{ḥ}$	ND P
ca - la	*ta phi -*	*ra - ta*	*pra - da -*	*kṣa - na*	*ma - na*
M ----------	${}_mG$ M_{gm}	P M'	${}_pS^{ḥ}$ ${}_nR^{ḥ}$	$S^{ḥ}$ $P_{m'pm'}$	DN DP
ja -	*hān - ta -*	*hān*	*ā -*	*ve jā -*	*ve*

Example 23:

Manuṣa ho to vohī (Raskhān: Sujān-Raskhān, 1)

sthāyī mānuṣa haũ to vahī rasakhāni basaũ braja gokula gāva ke gvāñrana

antarā jo paśu haũ tau kahā basa mero caraũ nita nanda kī dhenu mãjhārana

'Be I a man [in my next life,], then [let me be] that same Raskhān and dwell in Braj with the cowherds of the Gokul village;

if I am a beast, then what power do I have [to alter my fate]? - let me graze eternally amongst Nanda's cows.'

(translation Rupert Snell)

STHĀYĪ

Ḍ Ḍ	D D ----	-------D	D -----------	N̲ DP ---	--------DD
mā -	*nu -*	*ṣa*	*ho*	*to*	*ho va-*
DS^{ḥ}---------	N̲ D	P PD	D P	M G	R SS
hī		*ra - sa-*	*khā -*	*ni*	*ba -*
RP ---------	------ M ----	-------G	$_{gr}$G ---------	R S	R G
sū	*bra -*	*ja*	*go -*	*ku -*	*la*
G ----------	R S ----	-------SR	N̲ -----------	ḌS SN̲ --	--------Ḍ
gā̃ -	*va*	*ke*	*gvā -*	*la -*	*na*

ANTARĀ

G ----------	P N̲ ---	------- N̲D	DS^{ḥ}--------	------- S^{ḥ}---	--------S^{ḥ}
jo	*pa -*	*śū*	*ho*	*to*	*ka -*
$_{s}$P ----------	D DS^{ḥ}-	-------R^{ḥ}G^{ḥ}	G^{ḥ} R^{ḥ}-----	--------- N̲ --	------- DD$_{p}$
hā	*ba -*	*sa*	*mẽ*	*ro*	*ca -*
DS^{ḥ}---------	------- N̲	DP PD	D P	M G	R S
rū	*ni -*	*ta*	*na -*	*nda*	*kī*
N̲Ḍ ---------	N̲ ḌS --	-------- R	N̲ ----------	ḌS SN̲-	------- Ḍ
dhe -	*nu*	*man-*	*jā*	*ra -*	*na*

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EXAMPLE 4. Śrī rāma Śrī rāma

kīrtana in rāga Sahāna, Ādi tāla

composer: Tyāgarāja (KMM, vol. 2, pp. 98-99, 2nd ed.)

pallavi

1 śrī rā- ma śrī rā- ma śrī- ta ma- nō- ha-ra- ma

2 śrī- rā- ma śrī rā- ma śrī- ta ma- nō- ha-ra- ma

caraṇa

1 E- la- rā nī- du- ya in- ṭa- ṇe rā- da-ya

13 rā- ga vi- ra- hi- ta tyā- ga- rā- ja- nu-ta

scale of rāga Sahāna

EXAMPLE 6.
Pāhi rāmacandra pālita surēndra
Kīrtana in rāga Śankarābharaṇam, Ādi-tāla
composer: Tyāgarāja (KMM, vol. 2, pp. 324-25, 2nd ed.)
pallavi
caraṇa

EXAMPLE 7
nannu brovara

EXAMPLE 9
'Saṃgīta jñānamu'
composer Tyāgarāja
transcription ST

EXAMPLE 11

"Mēkēlarā vicāramu"

kṛti in rāga Ravicandrika, Ādi tāla
composer: Tyāgarāja

transcription: ST

pallavi

anupallavi

caraṇa

last drum beat

EXAMPLE 14.
dhrupad "Yā jagaihūtha" : lay - bānt on antarā

EXAMPLE 15. rāgālāp (rāga Bageśrī)

mukhṛā

(14'15)

= average length

= slower than average length

= faster than average

EXAMPLE 16. nom tom (madhya) - rāga Bageśrī

EXAMPLE 17.

nom tom (drut), rāga Bāgeśrī

EXAMPLE 18
rāgālāp, rāga Bageśrī
(sections V – VIII omitted)

कृति और ध्रुपद : दक्षिण और उत्तर भारत के सङ्गीत में समानान्तर रूप

सेलिना थेलमेन

(सम्पादिका-कृत सार-संक्षेप)

सांगीतिक रूपों की तुलना करना बहुत कठिन है क्योंकि ऐसा कोई ऐतिहासिक स्रोत प्राप्त नहीं है जो वि दक्षिण और उत्तर, दोनों के लिए समान रूप से प्रामाणिक हो। दक्षिण और उत्तर के रागों और तालों की तुलना के लिए सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर को आधार बनाया जाता रहा है और उसका अपना औचित्य है किन्तु सांगीतिक रूपों के प्रसंग में यह आधार सतही बन कर रह जाता है। दक्षिण और उत्तर सांगीतिक रूपों में जो अन्तर है उन्हें अनदेखा नहीं किया जा सकता। इस प्रसंग में निम्नलिखित समस्यायें प्रथम दृष्टि में ही सामने आती हैं—

१. उत्तर भारत में ध्रुपद का उद्भव सम्भवतः १४वीं, १५वीं शताब्दी में हुआ और उसका स्वरूप आज की ध्रुपद से बहुत भिन्न नहीं था। संक्षेप में यह कहा जा सकता है कि ध्रुपद का उद्भव प्रायः सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर के काल तक पीछे खींचा जा सकता है। दूसरी ओर दक्षिण भारत के सांगीतिक रूप, कृति और दिव्यनाम कीर्तन, एक दूसरे से काफी भिन्न हैं और अपने पूर्ववर्ती रूपों, कीर्तन और पद, से भी काफी भिन्न है। इन पूर्व और पर रूपों का भेद लिखित या मौखिक रूप में सुरक्षित नहीं रहा है। इतनी बात अवश्य ज्ञात है कि आज के कृति-कीर्तन नामक रूपों के खण्ड-पल्लवी, अनुपल्लवी और चरण-त्यागराज की रचनाओं में १९वीं शताब्दी में ही पहली बार लक्षित होते हैं, उससे पूर्व उनका कोई इतिहास नहीं है। १४वीं, १५वीं शताब्दी में किन पारिभाषिक नामों का उपयोग होता था, यह पता नहीं है। दक्षिण भारत के सांगीतिक रूपों में प्रयुक्त पारिभाषिक शब्दावली का १८वीं शताब्दी से पूर्व का इतिहास ज्ञात न होने के कारण सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर के ध्रुव-प्रबन्ध से जुड़े ध्रुपद के साथ दक्षिण के कृति-कीर्तन की तुलना निरर्थक हो जाती है।

२. दक्षिण और उत्तर संगीत परम्पराओं की प्रसंग में सांगीतिक रूप और शैली के बीच अन्तर करना आवश्यक है। उत्तर भारत में एकाधिक संगीत शैलीयाँ मिलती

हैं, जिन सबकी संरचना का मूल १४वीं शताब्दी के ध्रुव-प्रबन्ध में है। दूसरी ओर दक्षिण भारत में केवल एक शैली है किन्तु अनेक रूप हैं। एक ही रूप के भी उप-भेद मिलते हैं जैसे कि दिव्यनाम् कीर्तन में एकधातु और द्विधातु। जैसे ध्रुपद को सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर से जोड़ना सम्भव है, वैसे अन्य सभी रूपों के प्रसंग में सम्भव नहीं है।

३. सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर उत्तर और दक्षिण के मध्य में देवगिरि (दौलताबाद) में लिखा गया और इस लिए ऐसा माना जाता है कि इसका सम्बन्ध उत्तर और दक्षिण, दोनों के सङ्गीत से है। किन्तु यह ग्रन्थ मुख्य रूप से उत्तर भारतीय सङ्गीत प्रयोग से जुड़ा है यद्यपि इसके लेखन के समय तक जो भी संस्कृत ग्रन्थ उपलब्ध थे, उन सबकी छाया इसमें है, ऐसा माना जा सकता है। दक्षिण भारत से जुड़े ग्रन्थ १५वीं, १६वीं शताब्दी से मिलते हैं, जैसे कि रामामात्य की स्वर-मेल-कलानिधि या सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर पर कल्लिनाथ की टीका; और उनमें, स्वर-मेल कलानिधि आदि में सांगीतिक रूप की चर्चा नहीं है।

४. यह विदित है कि आदिम ग्रन्थ नाट्यशास्त्र (दूसरी से चौथी शताब्दी ई.) के समय दक्षिण भारत की अपनी विशिष्ट परम्परा अस्तित्व में थी। यह परम्परा नाट्यशास्त्र एवं अन्य संस्कृत ग्रन्थों से प्रभावित हुई। इस प्रश्न का अभी भी उत्तर नहीं मिला है कि दक्षिण भारत की परम्परा उत्तर भारत से किस प्रकार भिन्न थी। दोनों में अनेक समानान्तर धाराएँ हैं जैसे कि राग, ताल, मौखिक संक्रमण, एकल प्रयोग की प्रधानता एवं सांगीतिक वृन्दों की संगठना आदि। यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि दक्षिण भारत की पारिभाषिक शब्दावली अधिकांश रूप से संस्कृत में है यद्यपि आजकल कुछ तमिल शब्दों का भी प्रयोग होता है। सांगीतिक रूपों में ही भिन्नता मिलती है। इसके दो कारण समझ में आते हैं— एक तो दक्षिण भारत में ऐसे रूपों का प्रचलन जिन्हें सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर के साथ जोड़ना सम्भव नहीं है और दूसरे दक्षिण भारतीय ग्रन्थों में रूपों के वर्णन का अभाव।

५. आज जो भी सङ्गीत-शास्त्रीय अध्ययन हो रहा है, उसका ध्यान तो उत्तर या दक्षिण पर केन्द्रित है जिससे समस्याओं का आँकलन सीमित रूप से ही हो पाता है। ऐसा कोई अध्ययन नहीं हुआ है जो दोनों पद्धतियों पर समान रूप से विचार करे।

यह प्रश्न उभर कर सामने आता है कि दक्षिण भारत के सांगीतिक रूपों के प्रसंग में सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर का आधार लेना क्यों सम्भव नहीं है।

इसके बाद लेखिका ने दिव्यनाम कीर्तन और कृति का विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत किया है। फिर ध्रुपद के रूप का वर्णन किया है, इसके बाद ध्रुपद और कीर्तन की तुलना की है और निम्नलिखित निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत किये हैं—

१. दक्षिण एवं उत्तर भारत में कण्ठ-विधा के दो भिन्न परन्तु समानान्तर ऐतिहासिक विकास १३वीं-१८वीं शताब्दी के बीच हुए। दोनों में ही गायन का प्रारम्भ आलाप से किया जाता है, यही परम्परा १३वीं शताब्दी के पूर्व भी रही। ध्रुपद एवं कृति, कीर्तन आदि रूपों का उद्भव भी सम्भवतः उसी समय हुआ। अतः ये रूप ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से समानान्तर माने जा सकते हैं।

२. ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से ध्रुपद एवं कीर्तन का अध्ययन सम्भव नहीं है क्योंकि १४वीं शताब्दी के कीर्तन से सम्बन्धित जानकारी का सर्वथा अभाव है। तुलना का आधार १८वीं-१९वीं शताब्दी के सांगीतिक रूप हैं।

३. आलाप एवं आलापन के मूलभूत प्रारूप समान हैं परन्तु दक्षिण एवं उत्तर भारत के राग एवं ताल पद्धतियों की विभिन्नता के कारण इनके स्वरूप में भिन्नता दिखाई देती है। आलाप, राग एवं तालों की अवधारणा सङ्गीत-रत्नाकर एवं उसके पूर्व के ग्रन्थों पर आधारित है।

४. शास्त्रीय एवं सांगीतिक दृष्टिकोणों से कृति-कीर्तन एवं ध्रुपद-कीर्तन माना जा सकता है क्योंकि इनके संरचनात्मक खण्ड समान हैं।

५. विशिष्ट आलंकारिक शैली एवं उपज (improvisation) के कारण कृति-कीर्तन एवं ध्रुपद के रूपों में प्रस्तुति के समय भिन्नतायें परिलक्षित होती हैं।

"BĀZ BAHĀDUR, SULTAN OF MALWA, MUSICIAN AT AKBAR'S COURT"

FRANÇOISE 'NALINI' DELVOYE

Introduction

Among the Muslim rulers in medieval India who patronised music-especially vocal music, and thus presumably Dhrupad-Bāz Bahādur, the independent Sultan of Malwa from 1554-1570 for over a period of sixteen years, stands out as a well-known figure. He was himself a musician, and probably a poet-composer (*vāggeyakāra*) of some merit. Unlike Ibrābīm ᶜĀdil Shāh II, Sultan of Bijapur (r. 1580-1627), whose lyrics were collected in his life-time as a literary work, known as *Kitāb-i Nauras,* [1] the compositions attributed to Bāz Bahādur are rather limited, and scattered in manuscript, lithographic and printed collections.

The political career of Bāz Bahādur, born Bāyazīd Khān, is described in contemporary and later Indo-Persian chronicles.[2] He was the son of Shujā ᶜat Khān, appointed governor of Malwa by Sher Shāh, the Sultan of Delhi, of the Sūr dynasty. Among the sources written in Persian, some socio-cultural aspects of Bāz Bahādur's life are also mentioned, and particularly his interest in music and dance. Besides, the romantic love-story of the Sultan for Rūpamatī, a poetess who was also a musician, has inspired a number of legendary accounts.

This preliminary essay on Bāz Bahādur is an attempt to present the variety of written and iconographical sources on a political figure, whose legend has overtaken the historical accounts, due in large measure to his musical inclinations.[3]

A Brief Survey of the History of Medieval Malwa[4]

In 793/1390-91, Dilawar Khān Ghorī was appointed governor of Malwa by the Sultan of Delhi, Muḥammad Shāh. He then founded the independent sultanate of Malwa in 804/1401, with the title of ᶜĀmid Shāh Dā'ūd. As an astute statesman, he was conscious of the strategic position of his kingdom in Central India, and knew how to maintain good relations with Gujarat,

Khandesh and the Bahmani kingdom. By his death in 809/1406-07, he had built up Malwa as an independent state, with some attention to its culture and a number of architectural innovations and additions to pre-Islamic structures, which are attested to by inscriptions on surviving monuments.[5] The city of Mandu became known as Shadiabad, "The City of Happiness". His only son, Alp Khān succeeded as the ruler of Malwa in 809/1406, with the title of Sulṭān Hoshang Shāh. His early reign was marked by the invasion of his kingdom, by the Sultan of Gujarat, Muẓaffar Shāh (r. 1396-1411) in 809/1407, who after a siege of the fort of Dhar and false promises of conciliation, annexed the kingdom of Malwa and took Hoshang Shāh as a prisoner to Gujarat. Sulṭān Muẓaffar appointed his brother Nuṣrat Khān as the governor of Malwa, but the army and the nobility there resisted him, so that he was obliged to flee the place. Under the leadership of a certain Musa Khān, a cousin of Hoshang Shāh, they collected in the well-fortified town of Mandu, in 811/1408. This fact compelled Muẓaffar Shāh to release and send Hoshang Shāh back to Malwa, with a Gujarati prince, Aḥmad Shāh, who finally did not take over Malwa and, instead, returned to Gujarat. Staying in Dhar, Hoshang Shāh tried to recover Mandu, still occupied by Musa Khān, through friendly dealings and later on through more devious strategic means. With the complicity of some nobles who deserted Musa Khān's camp, Sulṭān Hoshang Shāh could take over Mandu. The later history of his reign shows his qualities as a statesman, both on the domestic front and his relations with other states, such as Gujarat, Khandesh, Kalpi, Jaunpur and the Bahmani kingdom. He is also noted for having maintained good relations with Hindus (Rajputs in particular), and Jains. Hoshang Shāh died of a mysterious illness in 838/1435.

After a period of family feuds, Ghaznī Khān, the oldest and favourite son of Hoshang Shāh, 838/1435, succeeded as Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Ghorī, and started his reign with some support from his subjects; but he soon became unpopular because of his repeated fratricides and unjustified bloodshed.

A change of dynasty occurred with the accession of Maḥmud Shāh I Khiljī in 839/1436. Maḥmud Shāh was a great builder and restorer, as testified by the Persian chronicle *Ma 'āṣir-i Maḥmud Shāhī* of Maḥmud Kermānī completed under his orders in 872/1467-68.[6]

Sulṭān Maḥmud's eldest son succeeded his father in 873/1469 as Ghiyāṣ Shāh also known as Ghiyāṣ al-dīn (d. 906/ 1501). Trained as a statesman and

a military leader by his father, he began initially to consolidate the kingdom, and took a series of measures for administrative reform. However, this phase did not last long, and the greater part of his long reign of thirty-four years was marked by administrative neglect. Nevertheless, as the inheritor of the artistic tastes of his father, he had numerous slave-girls educated and trained in music and dance. He was also known as a religious man and examples of his prodigality are many in the chronicles.[7]

ᶜAbd-ul Muẓaffar Naṣir al-dīn, the eldest son of Ghiyāṣ al-dīn (r. 906/1501- d. 916/1510), succeeded to the throne already during his father's life-time. Indo-Persian chronicles present a largely negative portrayal of his rule, mentioning that his natural cruelty was further aggravated by the excessive use of drugs and alcohol.[8] The decade of his rule was marked by a number of rebellions on the part of powerful nobles such as Sher Khān, and Muqbil Khān. He was also faced with some difficulties on the external front, partly on account of the ambitions of the Niẓām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar, and partly because of his own inclination to interfere in the politics of Chittor.

On his death, his third son succeeded him as Sulṭān Maḥmud Khaljī II in 917/1511, in keeping with his father's wishes. Initially, he faced challenges, in particular from his older brother.[9] For a brief period one of his rivals was even raised to the throne with the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad, so that Malwa had two Sultans, one at Ujjain, the other at Shadiabad. In order to shore up his position, which had begun increasingly to appear insecure, Maḥmud became dependent on one of the Hindu notables, Rāi Cand Purbiya, who was given the title of Medīni Rāi. The ascendancy of this faction meant that Rajputs came to occupy a pre-eminent position in the kingdom, which naturally caused resentment amongst the other notables. Finally, growing distrustful of the ambitions of the Rajputs, the Sultan decided to assassinate their leaders. But Medīni Rāi escaped with injuries, leaving Malwa vulnerable to external invasion.

The reign of Sulṭān Maḥmud Khaljī was equally marked by a deterioration in relations with Gujarat, which had been relatively stable in the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmud Begaṛh of Gujarat. In 1518, Sulṭān Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarat successfully attacked Malwa, and besieged and took Mandu, at great cost to the Purbiya Rajputs who defended it. However Sulṭān Maḥmud managed to re-emerge after a brief phase of eclipse. Later, in the reign of Sulṭān

Bahādur Shāh, serious problems once more arose, as the Gujarat forces took Malwa. In 1531, Sulṭān Maḥmud and his sons were taken prisoner, and carried off to Champaner, where they died while trying to escape imprisonment. Malwa now entered a phase of uncertainty, between the ambitions of the Sultan of Gujarat, the rising fortunes of the Mughals, who had established themselves in northern India, and of the Afghans who resisted them.

Eventually, with the withdrawal of the Gujarat forces, and then with the growing preoccupations of Humāyūn in eastern India, it was possible for a new independent ruler to emerge in Malwa. Thus, one of the *khānzādas* of the Sultans of Malwa, Mallu Khān, took advantage of the death of Bahādur Shāh Gujarātī to take over as Sultan in Malwa, and came to control the region from about 1537. His successful drive for power was however cut short rudely by the invasion of Sher Shāh Sūr, to whom he submitted in 1542. This inaugurated a phase of Afghan domination over the high court-politics of Malwa.

The Kingdom of Malwa and Sher Shāh Sūr, the Sultan of Delhi

Sher Shāh appointed one of his own trusted followers as governor over the newly conquered province. This man, Shujā ᶜat Khān was given the full charge of Malwa by Sher Shāh, but he later faced problems with Sher Shāh's son, Islām Shāh. Another notable, ᶜIsa Khān was then appointed governor of Malwa, till the death of Islām Shāh (961 / 1553). His successor at Delhi, Mubāriz Khān, alias ᶜAdil Shāh, again appointed Shujā ᶜat Khān as the governor of Malwa, till the latter's death in 962 / 1554-1555. In the struggle that followed, his son Bāyazīd Khān killed his rival Daulat Khān Ujiyāla, a former close associate of Islām Shāh and of Shujā ᶜat Khan, and his younger brother, and once in power as Bāz Bahādur, he is said to have devoted most of his time to music and pleasure.[10] Thus, the rise to power in Malwa of Bāz Bahādur was no simple affair, but the result of tangled political processes going back at least to the 1520s.

Bāz Bahādur and the Mughal Court

The Indo-Persian chronicles - official and unofficial - produced during the Mughal period are the best sources for the history of Bāz Bahādur. Among them the *Akbar Nāma* of Abū'l Faẓl, the *Muntakhab al- tawārīkh* of ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Badā'ūnī, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad,[11] the *Tārīkh-i Firishta* also known as *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* of Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta[12]

and the biographical *Ẓakhīrat al-khawānīn* (1550-1650) of Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī[13] are roughly contemporary, and they often borrow from one another. For a much later account, which borrows a lot from the former text, the *Ma'āṣir al-Umarā*, the voluminous biographical anthology of Nawāb Ṣamṣām al-Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān covering the period 1500-c. 1780, is also interesting.[14]

Abū'l Faẓl's chronicle on Bāz Bahādur

In what follows, long excerpts from Abū'l Faẓl's chronicle will be quoted, with some additional information provided by other Indo-Persian documents.

In the 5th year of his reign (966 / 1559), Akbar already had the intention of calling Bāz Bahādur to the imperial court. In spite of Akbar's taste for music and his remarkable artistic patronage, the Emperor's plans of annexing the region of Malwa, were obviously the motive for such an intention.[15]

> "... when Muḥammad Khān ᶜAdlī came to power he restored Mālwa to Sujāwal Khān, and he remained governor thereof till the end of his life. After that his son Bāz Bahādur become governor in his room. At this time when the world-conquering mind was engaged in knitting together the dispersions of the world, H.M. turned his attention to the administration of Mālwa. He determined in his mind that if Bāz Bahādur behaved properly he should have the honour of coming to court, which was the elixir for obtaining desires; otherwise it would be right to rescue such a fine country from unjust sensualists. [16]

Akbar sent off Baḥādur Khān with a larger army to conquer Malwa, but he recalled them for some urgent work and hence postponed the conquest, till the next year.

> "When the facts of the oppression of the people of Malwa and of the injustices of Bāz Bahādur, of whom an abridged description has already been given, were brought to the Shāhinshāh's notice, his justice demanded that an army should be prepared and dispatched against that intoxicated, right-disregarding one, and that the classes of humanity in that country, who are a grave trust from God, should be delivered from the evils of the time. Stringent orders were issued to those charged with the administration of affairs to make ready a large army commanded by brave and loyal officers and to employ it in this lofty service. In a short

space of time the administrators prepared an army in accordance with these orders. In the end of the fifth Ilāhī year, and beginning of 968 (sic), Pīr Muḥammad Khān, Abdullāh Khān [etc], and other sincere heroes and devoted men were appointed under the command of Adham Khān to proceed southwards and display justice and liberality and to be balm for the wounds of the oppressed ones of Malwa..."[17]

In the 6th regnal year 968 / 1561, the Mughal troops led by Adham Khān, Pīr Muḥammad Khān and ᶜAbdullāh Khān approached the country of Malwa.

"From innate insouciance Bāz Bahādur did not concern himself with public affairs. Wine, which experts have prescribed, in small quantities and at a fixed times, in consideration of the arrangement and composition of their bodily elements, for certain temperaments and constitutions, was made by this man, who was immersed in bestial pleasures, a cause of increased folly, and he was continually indulging in it, without distinguishing night from day or day from night, and was continually using it. Music and melody which the wise and farsighted have employed at times of lassitude and depression, such as arise from the press of business and the burthen of humanity, as a means of lightening the mind and of cheerfulness were regarded by this scoundrel as a serious business, and he spent upon them all his precious hours - for which no exchange is possible. In the arrogance of infatuation he wrought works of inauspiciousness, and regarded not what has been said...

When the army of fortune came near to Sārangpūr, which was the fool's paradise of this drunkard, he awoke in some measure from his insensate slumbers and came out from Sārangpūr, crapulous and wine-stained and took post three kos beyond it."[18]

Then follows the description of the battle between the two armies[19] and the defeat of Bāz Bahādur,

"wine-stained and disgraced, hastened off towards Khandesh and Barhānpūr. All his goods and chattels, his seraglio, and his singing and dancing women, who were the material of his pleasures and the decoration of his life, fell into the hands of the victors. The wretch, when he was about to face the victorious troops, had in accordance with the Indian custom placed confidential men in charge of his wives and concubines and had arranged that if they got sure tidings of his defeat they were to put all of them to the sword that they might not fall into stranger's hands.

When the form of Bāz Bahādur's defeat appeared in the mirror of results those devil-born ones acted according to the arrangement and with the water of the sword wiped out some of those fairy-framed puppets from the page of life. With the knife of injustice they erased from the world's folio the life-records of those innocents. Some were wounded and yet retained a breath of life, and for many the turn of slaughter had not come, when the victorious troops hastily marched into the city. The villains had not time to lay hands on these innocent women. The chief of them was Rūpmatī, renowned throughout the world for her beauty and charm. Bāz Bahādur was deeply attached to her and used to pour out his heart in Hindī poems descriptive of his love. A monster who had been left in charge of her uplifted the sword of wrong and inflicted several severe wounds on her. Just then the army of fortune arrived and brought out that half-slaughtered lovely one. When Bāz Bahādur had fled Adham Khān came in all haste and excitement to Sārangpūr to seize the buried and other treasures, and the seraglio with its singers and dancers whose beauty and melody were celebrated throughout the world, and whose heart-ravishing charms were sung of in the streets and markets. He took possession of all Bāz Bahādur's property, including his concubines and dancing girls, and sent people to search for Rūpmatī. When his strain *(naghma)* reached her ear her faithful blood became aglow, and from love to Bāz Bahādur she bravely quaffed the cup of deadly poison and carried her honour to the hidden chambers of annihilation! [20]

It appears from Abū'l Faẓ'l's account that Adham Khān's victory went to his head.

"Adham Khān reserved for himself all the rare and exquisite articles as well as the stores and buried treasures of their country which were the collections of ages, and many of the famous dancing aids and beauties whose loveliness and grace were bruited about in all the nine heavens, as well as many singers and musicians, and occupied himself with delights and pleasures. He set apart some elephants out of the spoils of fortune and sent them to the world-protecting Court along with the reports of the victory. [21]

Akbar came to know of Adham Khān's sedition and decided to march to Malwa in 968 / 1561. The unexpected visit of the emperor baffled Adham Khān. Nevertheless Akbar demonstrated kindness to him and even stayed at

his quarters, in order to show his compassionate attitude to the hypocrite. The next day Adham Khān's mother arranged a great entertainment to honour the emperor. Adham Khān was compelled to prepare a feast and

> "he produced before His Majesty whatever had come into his hands from Bāz Bahādur's estate, whether moveable or immovable, as well as all the wives, dancing girls and courtesans. His Majesty in accordance with his general benevolence accepted them, and presented him with some of them",

and stayed four days in Sārangapūr.[22] But the wicked courtier

> "intrigued with his mother's servants who waited in the royal harem, and spirited away from from the Shāhinshāh's enclosures two special beauties from among Bāz Bahādur's women and who had been recently exhibited to his Majesty. He indulged in the vain thought that as everyone was at this time engrossed with preparations for departure no one would follow up this trail. From this foolish idea he elected to place such a blot on his fortune's forehead. He became marked with an eternal curse and was disgraced for ever. When this scandalous proceeding came to the royal hearing an order was given to stop the march for this day and to send off swift messengers to search for the lost ones. Able men undertook the service, and by making proper search they caught both of them and brought them back. Māham perceived that if these two women were introduced to his Majesty the veil over her acts would be raised, and her son's treachery be revealed. She therefore caused these two innocent ones to be put to death for "a severed head makes no sound". The Khedive of the age overlooked this gross outrage, as the veil was not yet removed from his world-illuminating countenance, and regarded the done as not done.........[23]

This pathetic story inspired royal painters in a famous and unusual painting preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which will be discussed later.[24]

The next year, however, in 969/1562 in some other circumstances, Adham Khān, who was a *Panjhazārī*, could not escape Akbar's wrath and was thrown from a terrace.

Bāz Bahādur meanwhile had fled, pursued by Mughal armies. In a battle which Pīr Muḥammad Khān fought with Bāz Bahādur, he lost his life in crossing the Narbada, and Bāz Bahādur again became possessed of Malwa. Then ᶜAbdullāh Khān Uzbeg with a suitable force once more began the conquest of Malwa. "When Bāz Bahādur became aware of this expedition, he abandoned firmness and found that the power of resistance was not within his capacity." He finally left Malwa, and many of his soldiers were killed. Rāṇā Udai Singh of Udaipur gave him shelter for some time and Malwa was reconquered by the Mughals.[25]

> In 1564, Akbar decided to send some officers to soothe Bāz Bahādur, "who was wandering about in exile in those parts, to bring him to court. As the envoys brought the news of the royal favour, Bāz Bahādur recognised his good fortune in this and showed a desire to return to service, and prepared to set out. At this time, a foolish eunuch of his came from Agra, and by making improper observations, as is the way of wretched praters, withheld him from the highway of fortune. As the black pall of wretchedness had not yet been removed from his fortune, Bāz Bahādur involuntarily made some idle excuses and remained excluded from the bliss of doing homage. He put off the period of this great success to another time. He sent back the envoys with petitions full of his shame and offences.[26]

The last passage mentioning Bāz Bahādur in the official chronicle is the account of an expedition Akbar made to Ajmer and Rajasthan in 1570. The emperor reached Nagor in November and the nobility from that region came to do homage.

> "One of the joyful occurences was that Bāz Bahādur hastened to the summit of fortune and paid his homage. By the kindnesses of the Shāhinshāh he came out of the dust of loss and obtained a ray of auspiciousness, or rather he had a new birth. His honour had declined since he left Malwa, turning his face from fortune, and for a while he went door to door. First, he went to Baharjī, zamindar of Baglāna. From there he went to Cingīz-Khān, and after that he joined Sher Khān Fulādī. From him he went to Niẓāmu-l-mulk of the Deccan, but everywhere he met with his loss, and then he took refuge with the Rāṇā. When the Shāhinshāh heard of the misfortunes and wretchedness of this man, who had been debauched by the world's wine, his innate kindness moved him

to send one of his servants to summon him to court. Accordingly Ḥasan Khān Khazānci was appointed to this service. He made him hopeful of the royal favour and brought him to court, and there he was encompassed with princely favours.[27]

The court-chronicler mentions Bāz Bahādur as the ruler of Malwa in the ninth position in the list of the principal court-musicians, in the thirtieth *Ā'īn* on "The Imperial Musicians" of the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, adding the remark that he was "a singer without rival".[28] He is also in the list of "Commanders of One Thousand".[29] He was promoted later to a *manṣab* of Two Thousand and probably died in 1001 / 1592-1593.

Bāz Bahādur in Other Indo-Persian Chronicles

Other contemporary or slightly later chronicles in Persian do mention some events of Bāz Bahādur's earlier political career, such as his defeat in a battle with Rānī Durgāvatī, etc. Most of the chroniclers have some remarks - often disparaging - about his taste for wine, women and music.

ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Badā'ūnī in his *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, which offers a number of critical observations about music, provides some interesting information about the presumed music teacher of Bāz Bahādur.[30] According to Al-Badā'ūnī, the Sultan of Delhi, Muḥammad ᶜĀdil Khān, often called ᶜĀdlī,

> "was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Mīyān Tānsīn, the well-known *kalān-wat* (sic) [a singer or a musican] who is a past master in this art [*vādī*, probably for the Sanskrit *vidyā* or *vādya*], used to own to being his pupil, and Bāz Bahādur, son of Sazāwal Khān, who was also one of the most gifted men of his age and had no equal in this life-wasting accomplishment acquired the art (of music) from ᶜĀdlī.
>
> **Verse**
>
> They owned no rival, but surpassed them all,
>
> May God *He is exalted and glorified*, pardon them.
>
> One day a performer from the Dakhan brought into his assembly an instrument called *pakhāwaj*, which is in length equal to the height of a man, so large that the hands of no man could reach the two ends of it, as a sort of challenge to those who were present, and all the performers of the kingdom of Dihlī were unable to play it; ᶜĀdlī, however, found out

by his knowledge of other instruments how to play it, and placing a cushion on the floor beat the drum now with his hand and now with his foot. The assembled people raised a shout and all the skilled musicians owned their allegiance to him, and praised him exceedingly...." [31]

Elsewhere in his chronicle, Al-Badā'ūnī criticises the Sultan's practice of music which, according to him, was not compatible with his political responsibilities:

"Inasmuch as ᶜĀdlī had originally been accustomed to the profession [*peshgī*] of music and dancing, and was fond of life of ease and luxury, and was otiose in his habits, he was by no means fitted for the conduct of military affairs, or the duties of civil administration." [32]

Besides the oddness of the remark about ᶜĀdil Khān being a former professional musician and dancer, the question remains: was the Sultan a teacher of instrumental music and also vocal music and in which genre or style? Bāz Bahādur was not one among "the performers of the kingdom of Dilhī"; thus, when and how did he learn from him, since he was in or near Malwa, from the time of his birth and during the period of his reign? Other contemporary chronicles do not mention any music teacher.

Elsewhere, Al-Badā'ūnī mentions the ignoble Adham Khān

"who sent the whole account of the victory [over Bāz Bahādur in 1561] to the Court, with some elephants under the escort of Cādik Muḥammad Khān. But most of the elephants, and of the ladies of the haram, and the dancing-girls, and nautch-girls, belonging to Bāz Bahādur, and all his precious things he kept for himself. On this account the Emperor on the 1st of Shaᶜbān in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) set out from Agra, and came to Sārangpūr, and having taken posession of the spoil, and aranged the affairs of that state, on the 29th of Ramzān he came back to the foot of the throne [i.e. returned to Agra]." [33]

The *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, a contemporary chronicle of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad (which has already been mentioned), is arranged kingdom-wise in terms of its narrative. Various references to Bāz Bahādur are given in the section dealing with the "Kings of Dehli" which goes up to the thirty-eight year of Akbar's reign (1002 / 1593).[34] A more specific account of Bāz Bahādur is given at the end of the section dealing with the "Sulṭāns of Mālwa".[35] The author describes how, at the death of his father in 1555, Bāyazīd treacherously eliminated

Daulat Khān Ujiyālā–a favourite of Sultān Salīm Shāh, in both of whose names some *dhrupads* are found in manuscript anthologies–and took over control of Malwa. Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad described his distress, when he lost some battles, especially against Rānī Durgāwatī.

> "As he had undergone much hardship, he now desired that he should spend some days in pleasure. He collected musicians and singers from every place where they were, and occupied himself all day and night in (sensual) pleasure and enjoyment."[36]

Finally, "Bāz Bahādur rose from the company of the singing women, and marched forwards to fight with brave men" when the Mughal nobles almost reached Sarangpur, where he marched with his forces. However, he had to flee after a fight. The chronicler adds to the biographical account that,

> "Bāz Bahādur had a wife Rūpmatī by name, who loved him and was enamoured of him; and in the verses which he composed in the Hindī language [*ashᶜāri ke be-zabān-i Hindī mīguft*] he often inserted her name [*Rūpmatī dākhil mīkard*]. He had a great passion for the society of women and the company of musicians".

The translator, Brajendranath De, adds in a footnote: "It is not quite clear whether the author means that Rūpmatī loved Bāz Bahādur and was enamoured of him, or *vice versa*." Elsewhere, in the section on Akbar, Rūpamatī is mentioned as his favourite wife, "who used to recite poetry" [*shaᶜar mīguft*]. Niᶜmatullāh, the author of the *Makhzan-i Afghānī* (c. 1613), says:

> "Rūpmatī had so captivated him that every moment not spent with her was painful to him; he composed Indian love-songs and assumed to himself a poetical name."[37]

In terms rather similar to Abū'l Faẓl and other Indo-Persian chroniclers, Shāh Nawāz Khān, the author of the *Ma'āṣir al-Umarā*, describes Bāz Bahādur's life spent in pleasure and dissipation, after his defeat by Rānī Durgāvatī:

> "He let the foundation of his power go to the winds and waves, that is, he became so addicted to wine and music that he made no difference between night and day, and gave heed to nought except these two things.
>
> Physicians have prescribed wine according to fixed quantities and seasons with reference to the bodily frame and certain constitutions, and

prudent and wise persons have sanctionned music at the time of care and melancholy– such as are produced by engrossment in worldly matters, with the object of recruiting the faculties, but have not approved of making these two things the great objects of life and of ever sacrificing to them precious hours for which there is no exchange. Bāz Bahādur who was himself the teacher of the age in music and melody [*dar funūn-i surod wa naghma ustād-i waqt būd*], employed all his energies in collecting dancing girls [*pāturān*]. They were all famous over the world for music [*hama beḥusn-i naghma tāq; wa naghma-ye ḥusn-i anhā mashahūr āfāq*]. The head of the troop was named Rūpmatī. They say that she was a "Padminī", which is the first class of the four kinds of women, according to the division made by Hindu sages, that is, the class which is compounded of excellent qualities. Bāz Bahādur was wonderfully attached to her, and continually wrote Hindī love-songs about her [*ash ār-i hindī paiwasta dar ishq-i ū gufte*], and emptied his heart for her. Stories about their love and beauty are still upon people's tongues"...[38]

Most stories end tragically with the death of Rūpamatī, following the defeat of Bāz Bahādur in front of the Mughal forces, in 968/1560-1561, when following his instructions, his women and dancing girls were put to death, at the news of the approaching enemy, "as is the custom in India [*rasm-i Hindustān*]":

"Adham K. got possession of everything and made search for Rūpmatī, who had been severely wounded. But when this news (*"naghma"* melody) came to her ears her fidelity grew ardent and she quaffed the cup of poison and *manfully* died for love of Bāz Bahādur."[39]

Other Indo-Persian chronicles should be taken into consideration for a better assessment of the political aspect and personality of Bāz Bahādur. They belong to various genres, such as general histories, e.g. the *Tārīkh-i Alfī* of Mullā Aḥmad Tattawī *et alia*[40], commissionned by Akbar and completed in 1589, or histories of India, e.g. the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* (1695-1696) of Sujān Rāi Bhandārī[41], from the earliest times to Aurangzeb's accession, and also regional history, *e.g.* the *Mirāt-i Sikandarī* (1611) of Sikandar bin Muḥammad urf Manjhu[42], about the Sultans of Gujarat.

Bāz Bahādur in Indo-Persian Texts on Music[43]

Surprisingly Indo-Persion texts on music do not seem to give much information about Bāz Bahādur, in contrast to other musicians like Tānsen and Nāyak Bakhśū.[44] To give only two examples, Nawāb Saīf Khān 'Faqīrullāh', the author of the *Rāg Darpan* (1666) mentions Bāz Bahādur along with Mīyān Tānsen and Nāyak Bakhśū, while wondering who among the artists of the time (i.e. the *Ustād* and *Nāyak*) could have been the creator of the *rāg* Pūriyā-Dhanāsirī. According to him, all three were excellent musicians.[45] A little later, Mīrzā Khān in the chapter on Music of his encyclopaedic work *Tuḥfat al-Hind* (1675), mentions Bāj Bahādur (sic), in the ninth position of a list of outstanding musicians, which is however different from the one given by Abū'l Faẓl in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*; but he does not add any further comment.[46]

The Tomb of Bāz Bahādur

The circumstances of the death of Bāz Bahādur are not known[47] and the presumably joint tomb of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī is a subject of controversy among historians and arrchaeologists.[48] Folk stories about the romantic couple add to the confusion. In his biographical note on Bāz Bahādur, the translator of the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, H. Blochmann suggests that they lied buried together and that "their tomb stands in the middle of a tank in Ujjain", without a reference to his source.[49] The early seventeenth-century text, the *Zakhīrat al-Khawānīn* of Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī also says that "both of them lie in internal sleep on a raised spot in the midst of Ujjain lake", a statement which contradicts S.H. Hodīvālā's dismissal of what he calls "an echo of one popular tradition or belief" on the grounds that there was no contemporary evidence.[50] On the other hand, the author of the *Makhzan-i Afghānī* already mentioned, says that Bāz Bahādur was "interred at Agra near the Alem Gunj".[51]

Gilded Legend

A certain Aḥmad al-Umrī Turkomān (who lived until the early years of Jahāngīr's reign), is the author of an interesting Persian text, the original manuscript of which seems to be no more extant today. It is known through its translation into English, published in London in 1926, with some illustrations, by L.M. Crump, with an Introduction and the English translation of twenty-six songs ascribed to Rūpamatī.[52] Though the author claims that the

authentic story of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī he is telling us was related to him by one Sulimān Khan, who served both Shujā ᶜat Khān and Bāz Bahādur, and who was hence an eyewitness, his work is more like a literary legend. It provides hagiographical accounts of both the hero and heroine and a detailed narrative of their romantic and tragic life. Rūpamatī, a *bīn*-player and a singer, is described as "a poet and an expert in the art, [who] won great benefit also from the masters of the art of music".[53] The legend has inspired a Dance-Drama "Roopmati Baz Bahadur", directed and choreographed by Birju Maharaj at the Kathak Kendra, Delhi, in 1991.[54]

In his *Storia do Mogor*, the Venetian Niccolao Manucci (b. 1639 - d. 1717) who lived in India for half a century, tells a strange story, confusing various folk versions of the story of Bāz Bahādur, Rūpamatī and the Mughal Emperor. Such an account reveals again the popularity of the Sultan's legend.[55]

> "Here is an adventure which happened to King Akbar. I overlooked it in my former volumes; but as it is so strange, it should not fall into oblivion. After he had defeated Baz Bahadur, sovereign of the forests of Mandu, Akbar caused him to be cruelly decapitated, and forthwith proposed marriage to his widow. The affected princess, who was of surpassing beauty, absolutely refused to consent to such a marriage, in spite of all the promises made to her. However, she sent word to him that if he would order a palace to be built for her, and concede to the ceremonies due to his memory, she would consent to the marriage.
>
> The amorous prince granted her request, and on the expiration of the year he intimated to her that the time had come for her to carry out her promise. Then the lady dressed herself as magnificently as was possible, putting on her richest jewels, and came to see the king. He received her with all imaginable demonstrations of joy. But when they had engaged in conversation, the beauty drew from her pocket a poisoned betel-leaf, impregnated with a very subtle poison, and ate it. Thus she expired in her lover's arms, repeating frequently the name of her first husband, Baz Bahadur.
>
> This deed showed the king that she could never love one who had sent to his death a person held by her as dear as life itself... Although invariably successful on the field of Mars, Akbar was unfortunate on that of Venus..."

Iconographical Representations of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī

A few representations of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī by Mughal painters are preserved in various museums in India and abroad. Such is a painting of Rūpamatī "the favourite of Bāz Bahādur, endeavouring to escape from Sārangpūr, on hearing of the defeat of her lover, the Sulṭān; when she realized that her capture was imminent, she took poison and died rather than fall into the hands of Akbar's troop". This painting is ascribed to the painter Laᶜl, also known as Lāl, a renowned artist of Akbar's court.[56] It is preserved in a illustrated manuscript of the *Akbar Nāma* of Abū'l Faẓl, of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.[57] In the same album figures a representation of the attack of Sarangpur, during which some of the women of Bāz Bahādur were taken captive.[58]

Later Mughal paintings of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī produced in Lucknow and Murshidabad indicate the popularity of the theme around 1760. One such painting attributed to Mīr Kalān Khān was painted for Shujā ᶜud-Daula (r. 1753-1775) and later on belonged to his son and successor, Aṣaf ud-Daula (r.1775-1797).[59] Though of a late Mughal style, the representation of Bāz Bahādur holding a falcon in a forest, near a pond where Rūpamatī is having her bath, parallels the classical theme of King Khusrau discovering Shīrīn having her bath, which was a favourite of Persian painters as well.[60] Another miniature attributed to the same painter is now preserved in the British Museum. It represents Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī on their horses at night, with two attendants, in a dark mountainous landscape.[61] Another painting on the same theme, in which both characters ride horses, with a forest in the foreground and some palaces in the background, was produced in Mushibad, c. 1760, and is preserved in the India Office Library, London.[62]

I do not know of any representation of the two characters in a musical setting. Nevertheless, an interesting painting of an important illustrated manuscript of Abū'l Faẓl's *Akbar Nāma* (c. 1590-1595), is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It shows how "Celebrated dancers from Mandu perform before Akbar", with an inscription indicating that it was "composed by Kesu the elder and painted by Dharmdas". It is a vivid depiction of the tragic episode involving Adham Khān discussed above, ending with the death of the two dancers of Bāz Bahādur's court.[63] The tutu or short ballet skirt and the headgear of the dancers and of the lady musicians is rather unusual.

Plate I. "Celebrated dancers from Mandu perform before Akbar", (1590-1595), Victoria and Albert Museum, London. (Cf. Text, p. **ADD** and Note 63)

Plate II. " Bāz Bahādur meeting Rūpamatı", (c. 1760), Private Collection (Cf. Text, p. **ADD** and Note 59)

One may compare it with another representation of Akbar watching lady dancers and musicians, which is a part of the manuscript of the *Dīvān* of the 12th century Persian poet Anvarī. The precious manuscript ordered by Akbar is dated 1588 and is now preserved in the Fogg Art Museum, Boston.[64] The girls are wearing rather different costumes and hair-dress, though they have the same hanging black pompons as wrist-bracelets, and other ornaments. The later group of dancers rather resemble in their dress "A group of dancing girls sent to entice the youthful ascetic, Rishyashringa", possibly by the painter Govardhan and also "ladies witnessing suggestive donkeys" in the illustrated manuscript of the *Divān of* Anvarī, already mentioned.[65]

Another provincial painting of the late 18th c. of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī in the Pahari style of Bilaspur, is preserved in the Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection in Ahmedabad.[66]

Though contemporary Indo-Persian sources insist on the aspect of Bāz Bahādur as a connoisseur of music and dance, and the episode of the two dancers seems to have been so striking that it inspired this unusual illustration as part of the main official contemporary chronicle, later paintings do not, to my knowledge, describe Bāz Bahādur and his favourite in a musical setting, and rather prefer the meeting in the forest of the two horse-riding lovers, at night or near a river or a pond.

Literary work attributed to Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī

Among the early manuscript collections containing *dhrupad* songs, the lyrics illustrating the musicological treatises of Bhāvabhaṭṭa are a good source of compositions by court poet-composers and singers.[67] Two compositions with the "signature" (*chāp*) of "Bāj Bahādur Sāhi" and "Bahādur Bāj" and one with the *chāp* of "Rūpamatī" are found in the *Anūpa Saṁgīta Ratnākara*.[68] There are many compositions with the name of "Sāhi Bahādur", the Sultan of Gujarat Bahādur Shāh, and also some with the náme of "Sultān Bahādur" or simply "Bahādur"; a further study of the lyrics may help in identifying who the ruler was to whom such *dhrupads* were addressed or who were themselves its poet-composers.

In a much more recent manuscript anthology of lyrics collected from the court-musicians of Rampur about a hundred and fifty years ago, known as the *Rāmpur Rāgamālā*, three *dhrupad* songs with both the names of "Bāj Bahādur"

and "Rūpamatī" have been noted by Ācārya K.C. Bṛhaspati in his work *Dhruvapada aur uskā vikās.*[69]

Some *dhrupads* with the name of both are also found in the lithographic and printed copies of the monumental *Saṅgīta Rāga Kalpadrum* compiled by Kṛṣṇānand Vyās (b. 1794) over a period of thirty years from court-musicians, under the patronage of a Mahārāṇā of Udaipur, available in a lithograph dated 1842 and a later printed edition.[70]

One composition attributed to Rūpamatī is given with notation in Indurama Srivastava's study of Dhrupad. It was sung by Paṇḍit Bharat-jī Vyās in *rāga* Utarī-Guṇakalī and *tāla cautāla*, as an example of *gobarahāra bānī.*[71]

A number of compositions attributed to Rūpamatī are not *dhrupads*, but short poems in different meters, such *as dohā, kavittā and sawaiyā*, more likely to be sung as folk tunes.[72]

Conclusion

With the aura of musicality in Bāz Bahādur's life and some references to compositions in Indo-Persian sources, one would expect more lyrics with the name of Bāz Bahādur to be found in manuscript, lithographic and printed anthologies, compared to the high number of *dhrupads* ascribed to Tānsen and Nāyak Ba<u>kh</u>śū. Unfortunately, no definite information is provided by available documents, on the genre in which the Sultan turned court-musician and *manṣabdār* might have excelled in a sufficiently brilliant way, to be noticed by a music connoisseur like Akbar.

Notes

1. See F. Delvoye, "The Verbal Content of Dhrupad Songs from the Earliest Collections: II. *The Kitāb-i Nauras* of Ibrāhīm ᶜĀdil Shāh II, Sultān of Bijapur (r. 1580-1627) and its Persian Preface by Mullā Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ẓuhūrī'", Part I, *Dhrupad Annual 1991*, pp. 38-54 and Part II, *Dhrupad Annual 1993*, pp. 1-23.

2. For a general history of the Mughal Empire, see John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire, The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. 5, Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1993 and for a detailed bibliographical survey of Mu<u>gh</u>al documents, see D.N. Marshall, *Mughals in India. A Bibliographical Survey of Manuscripts* (1967), London / New York, Mansell Publishing Limited, 1985.

3. Most excerpts selected for this paper are published translations, which could not be checked against the original Persian. References are given to the original Persian passages quoted, whenever available.

4. For an historical essay based on Indo-Persian sources, see Upendra Nath Dey, *Medieval Malwa. A Political and Cultural History, 1401-1562*, Delhi, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1965. For some anecdotes see the English Translation of the Persian chronicle *Wāqiᶜāt-i Mu'shtāqī* (1572) by Mushtāqī Rizq al-Lāh, *Waqiᶜat-e-Mushtaqui of Shaikh Rizq Ullah Mushtaqui* (*A Source of Information on the Life and Conditions in Pre-Mughal India*), translated and edited by Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, New Delhi, co-published by Indian Council of Historical Research and Northern Book Centre, 1993, Chapters XII-XV, pp. 213-39.

5. See Yves Porter, "Khalji Architecture of Mālwa in the Light of the Ma'āṯer-e Maḥmudshāhi", in *Confluence of Cultures. French Contributions to Indo-Persian Studies*, Ed. F. Delvoye, New Delhi, Manohar, 1994, pp. 23-36.

6. *Ibid.* For references to Persian documents, also see U.N. Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-219.

7. For some anecdotes on G̲hiyaṣ al-dīn, see for instance the *Wāqiᶜāt-i Mu'shtāqī*, English Transl., *op. cit.*, pp. 213-24 and 236-39.

8. See U.N. Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-66 for further references to sources; also see some anecdotes in *Wāqiᶜāt-i Mu'shtāqī*, English Transl., *op. cit.*, pp. 225-31.

9. See U.N. Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-310.

10. For a classic account, see Thomas William Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary founded on materials collected by the Late Thomas William Beale*, a new edition revised and enlarged by Henry George Keene, London, W.H. Allen & Co., 1894; Repr., 1910; First Indian Repr., Delhi, Manohar Reprints, 1971, Bāz Bahādur, p. 105 and Rūpamatī, "a Hindū poetess...", p. 336. See also an account on Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī in English by Renuka Nath, *Notable Mughal and Hindu Women in the 16th and 17th Centuries A.D.*, New Delhi, Inter-India Publications, 1990, pp. 219-34.

11. See Niẓām al-dīn Aḥmad (Khwāja), *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī,* Persian edn. by B. De and M. Hidayat Husain, in Three Vols., Calcutta, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1913-41; English Transl : *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, A History of India from the Early Musalmān Invasions to the Thirty-Eighth Year of the Reign of Akbar of Khwājah Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad,* translated by B. De, (rev. and ed. by B. Prasad, for the 3rd Vol.), Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1913-40, [The Sulṭāns of Mālwa, Vol, III, Part II, pp. 465-632; Bāz Bahādur, *Ibid,* pp. 628-32]. For some comments, see also Shāhpūrshāh Hormasjī Hodīvālā, *Studies in Indo- Muslim History. A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians,* with a foreword by Richard Burn, 2 Vols., Bombay, Author, 1939; *Supplement* (i.e. Vol. II), Bombay, The Popular Book Depot, 1957, pp. 225-27.

12. See Firishta, *Tārīkh-i Firishta or Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī;* Persian Text, *Tārīkh-i Firishta. Ḥālat-i shāhan va masha ' ikh-i Hind,* ed. J. Briggs, 2 Vols. Bombay, 1832; *Tārīkh-i Gulshan-i Ibrāhim,* Lucknow, Nawal Kishore Press, 1905; English Transl., *History of the Rise of the Mahommedan Power in India, Till the Year A.D. 1612, translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta,* by John Briggs, 4 Vols., London, 1829; Repr., Calcutta, R. Cambray & Co. and London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1908-10; Delhi, Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 1989, Vol. II, pp. 119 and 125-26; Vol. IV, p. 167.

13. See the Persian edition of *Zakhīrat al-Khawānīn* of Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī, ed. Syed Moinul-Ḥaq, Karachi, Historical Research Society of Pakistan, Vol. I, 1961, Vol. II, 1970, Vol. 1974 and the English Transl., *The Dhakhirat ul-Khawanin of Shaikh Farid Bhakkari (A Biographical Dictionary of Mughal Noblemen),* translated from the Persian by Ziyauddin A. Desai, (In Three Parts), Delhi, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1993, Part One, Introduction, p. xxxiii; pp. 73, 90-91, 119-20.

14. See Nawāb Ṣamṣām al-Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āṣir al-Umarā,* revised and enlarged by his son ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy 'Sārim' Aurangābādī, Three Vols., Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1888-1891; English Transl. by H. Beveridge, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1911, Vol. I, pp. 82, 146, 394-96, Vol. II, pp. 479, 820.

15. See F. Delvoye, "The Image of Akbar as a Patron of Music in Indo- Persian and Vernacular Sources", Seminar on " Akbar and His Age", Aligarh Muslim University, (Oct.1992), Forthcoming in *Medieval India,* Ed. Irfan Habib, Vol. II, Delhi, Oxford University Press.

16. See Abū'l Faẓl, *Akbar Nāma,* Persian edn. by Aghā Aḥmad ᶜAlī and Maulavi ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm, Three Vols., Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873-1939; Repr., Delhi, Rare Books, 1972-73, Vol. II, p. 136.

17. *Ibid,* Persian Text, Vol. II, pp. 134-35; English Transl., Vol. II, p. 208.

18. *Ibid,* Persian Text, Vol. II, pp. 136-37; English Transl., Vol. II, pp. 211-13.

19. For an account of the horrifying massacre of non-combatants perpetrated by Pīr Muḥammad Khān, see a passage in the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh,* of ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Badā'ūnī who witnessed the scene with utter disgust : Persian edn. in Three Vols. by Kabīr al-dīn Aḥmad, Aḥmad ᶜAlī and W.N. Lees, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1864-69; Repr., Osnabruck, Biblio Verlag, 1983, Vol. II, p. 47; English Transl. in Three Vols. by G. Ranking (Vol. I), W.H. Lowe (Vol. II) and T.W. Haig (Vol. III), Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1884-1925, Repr., Delhi, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1978, Vol. II, pp. 42-43.

20. See Abū'l Faẓl, *Akbar Nāma, op. cit.,* Persian Text, Vol. II, pp. 137-38; English Transl., Vol. II, pp. 213-14.

21. *Ibid,* Persian Text, Vol. II, p. 138; English Transl., Vol. II, p. 214.

22. *Ibid,* Persian Text, Vol. II, pp. 140-42; English Transl., Vol. II, 217-21.

23. *Ibid,* Persian Text, Vol. II, pp. 143-44; English Transl., Vol. II, pp. 221-22.

24. See *infra* "Iconographical Representations of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī".

25. Abū'l Faẓl, *op. cit.,* Persian Text, Vol. II, pp. 166-69; English Transl., Vol. II, pp. 256-61.

26. *Ibid,* Persian Text, Vol. II, p. 231; English Transl., Vol. II, p. 352.

27. *Ibid.,* Persian Text, Vol. II, p. 358; English Transl., Vol. II, p. 518.

28. Abū'l Faẓl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī,* Persian edn. by H. Blochmann, Two Vols., Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1877, Vol. I, p. 263; English Transl.

by H. Blochmann, (Vol. I) and H.S. Jarrett, (Vols. II and III), Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867-77, Repr., New Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1977-78, Vol. I, p. 681.

29. *Ibid.,* English Transl., Vol. I, p. 473, for the mention of Bāz Bahādur's name and a brief biographical note based on Persian sources.

30. See ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh, op. cit.,* Persian Text, Vol. I, pp. 434-35; English Transl., Vol. I, p. 557.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.,* Persian Text, Vol. I, p. 418; English Transl., Vol. I, p. 537.

33. ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Badā' ūnī, *op. cit.,* Persian Text, Vol. II, p. 48; English Transl., Vol. II, pp. 43-44.

34. See Niẓām al-dīn Aḥmad (Khwāja), *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī, op. cit.,* English Transl., Vol. II and also H.M. Elliot, and J. Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians. The Muhammedan Period,* edited from the posthumous papers of the late Sir H.M. Elliot by John Dowson, 8 Vols., London, Trubner & Co., 1867-77; Repr., New York, AMS Press Inc., 1966; Delhi, Low Price Publications, 1990, Vol, V, pp. 244-45, 260, 270-71, 275-76.

35. See Niẓām al-dīn Aḥmad (Khwāja), *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī, op. cit.,* English Transl., Vol. III, Part II, pp. 628-32.

36. *Ibid,* p. 630.

37. See *Makhzan-i Afghānī* of Ni ᶜmatullāh, English Transl. by B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans,* London, Oriental Translation Fund, 1829-36, Vol. I, p. 175.

38. See Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma āṣir al-Umarā, op. cit.,* Vol. I, Persian Text, p. 388; English Transl., p. 394.

39. *Ibid,* Persian Text, pp. 389-90; English Transl., p. 395.

40. See excerpts in H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India, op. cit.,* Vol. V, pp. 168-69.

41. See *Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh* of Munshī Sujān Rāi Bhandārī of Batāla, edited by M. Ẓafar Ḥasan, Delhi, printed at J. & Sons Press, 1918, pp. 349-50.

42. See Sikandar (Shaikh Sikandar ibn Muhammad urf Manjhu ibn Akbar), *The Mirat-i-Sikandiri, A History of Gujarat from the Inception of the Dynasty of the Sultans of Gujarat to the Conquest of Gujarat by Akbar,* ed. with Introduction and Notes by S.C. Misra and M.L. Rahman, Baroda, Department of History, Faculty of Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1961; Two English Translations: 1. Edward Clive Bayley, *The Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarāt,* ed. Nagendra Singh, London, W.H. Allen & Co., 1886; Repr., Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1970; 2. Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, *Mirati Sikandiri or the Mirror of Sikandar, by Sikandar, the Son of Muhammad, alias Manjhu, Gujarati,* Dharampur, Education Society's Press, n.d. (c. 1900); Repr., Gurgaon, Vintage Books, 1990.

43. On Indo-Persian sources on music, see F. Delvoye "Indo-Persian Literature on Art-Music: Some Historical and Technical Aspects", in *Confluence of Cultures,* Ed. F. Delvoye, *op. cit.,* pp. 93-130.

44. On Tānsen, see F. Delvoye, "Tānsen and the Tradition of Dhrupad Songs in the Braj Language, from the 16th century to the Present Day", *Dhrupad Annual 1993,* pp. 37-44 and "The Verbal Content of Dhrupad Songs from the Earliest Collections: III. Dhrupad Songs Attributed to Tānsen in Court-musicians' Repertoires", *Dhrupad Annual 1994,* pp. 1-12. See also "The Thematic Range of *Dhrupad* Songs Attributed to Tānsen, Foremost Court-Musician of the Mughal Emperor Akbar", in *Studies in South Asian Devotional Literature, Research Papers, 1988-1991, presented at the Fifth Conference on Devotional Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages* (Paris-EFEO, 9-12 July 1991). Eds. Alan W. Entwistle and Françoise Mallison, New Delhi, Manohar, and Paris, Ecole Française d' Extreme-Orient, 1994, pp. 406-27. For a preliminary study and bibliographical references on Nāyak Ba<u>kh</u>śū, see the same author - "The Verbal Content of Dhrupad Songs from the Earliest Collections: I. The *Hazār Dhurpad or Sahasras,* a collection of 1004 *dhrupads* attributed to Nāyak Ba<u>kh</u>śū", *Dhrupad Annual 1990,* pp. 93-109.

45. See the Persian edition of the *Rāg Ḋarpan* of 'Faqīrullāh', by N.H. Anṣārī, and Sh. Shukla, "Rāga Darpana" and "Ṣaut al-Nāqaus" of Muḥammad ᶜOṣmān Qaīs, *Persian Research Journal Special Number,* Delhi, Dept. of Persian, University of Delhi, 1981, p. 25.

46. See Mīrzā Khān, *Tuhfat al-Hind,* Persian edn. by N.H. Anṣārī, Tehran, *Intishārāt-i Buniyād Farhang i-Irān*, 1976, especially the fifth chapter on music (*dar* ᶜ*ilm-i sangīt ya* ᶜ*ni* ᶜ*ilm-i mūsīqī,* pp. 322-456), p. 362.

47. See ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Badā'ūnī, *op. cit.,* for a passing remark which does not inform us about the exact date and place of his death, Persian Text, Vol. II, pp. 51-52; English Transl., Vol. II, p. 48. Abū'l Fazl and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad are also silent.

48. See L.M. Crump, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31 and also C.E. Luard, *Dhār and Māndu,* Allahabad, 1912.

49. See Abū'l Fazl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī, op. cit.*, English Transl. H. Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 474.

50. See Z.A. Desai in his English Transl. of the *Zakhīrat al-Khawānīn* of Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī, *op. cit.,* p. 121 and note 252a, p. 217. See also Sh. H. Hodīvālā, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 225-27.

51. See *Makhzan-i Afghānī* of Niᶜmatullāh, English Transl., *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 179.

52. See *The Lady of the Lotus, Rup Mati Queen of Māndu, A Strange Tale of Faithfulness,* by Ahmad-ul-Umri, Turkomān, Translated with Introduction and Notes together with Twenty-six Poems attributed to Queen Rup Mati, Done into Verse by L.M. Crump, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926. See the summary in R. Nath, *op. cit.,* pp. 219-23.

53. See M.L. Crump, *op. cit.,* p. 47.

54. The story of the Dance-Drama presented at Kamani Auditorium on 25th and 26th November 1991, was based on L.M. Crump's translation. Rūpamatī as a child was played by Ipshita, and by Saswati Sen as an adult; Bāz Bahādur was Arjun Mishra and Adam *(sic)* Khan, Jai Kishan. According to the printed programme, "some of the songs used in the dance-drama are Roopmati's own compositions".

55. See Niccolao Manucci, *Mogul India, 1653-1708 or Storia do Mogor,* Translated by William Irvine, 4 Vols., 1st Publ., 1907-1908; Repr., Delhi, Low Price Publications, 1990, Vol. III, pp. 278-79.

56. See Som Prakash Verma, *Mughal Painters and Their Work. A Biographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue,* Aligarh, Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University and Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 221-31.

57. See Folio 60 of the *Akbar Nāma* manuscript described in *The Library of A Chester Beatty. A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures,* by Thomas W. Arnold, rev. and ed. by J.V.S. Wilkinson, Three Vols., London, Privately printed by J. Johnson at the Oxford University Press and published by Emery Walker, Ltd., 1936, No. 19/77, p. 7 (No reproduction). The painting illustrates the *Akbar Nāma's* passage, Persian Text, ed. cit., Vol. II, p. 137 and English Transl., *op. cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 213-14.

58. See Arnold, *op. cit.,* Folio 59, No. 18/76, p. 7 (No reproduction). Cf. *Akbar Nāma,* Persian Text, ed. cit., Vol. II, pp. 136-37 and English Transl., *op. cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 212-13. Another miniature of the 18th century, representing Bāz Bahādur is mentioned as one of the "Separate Pictures of Hindu and Provincial Schools", Pl. XVIII, p. 59. (No reproduction)

59. See "Baz Bahadur rencontre Rupmati", described by Jean Soustiel and M.C. David and reproduced in colour in *Art Islamique, Vingt-deux Miniatures des Collections Louis Gonse,* Objets d' Art, Textiles, Etude Daussy-Ricqlès, Paris, 1988, No. 8, pp. 24-25. **[= Plate II]**

60. *Ibid.*

61. See the British Museum miniature (1920-9-17-016), reproduced in black and white in "Later Mughal Painting", by Linda York Leach, in *The Arts of India,* Ed. Basil Gray, Oxford, Phaidon, 1981, Fig. 167, p. 156. A probably later copy of this painting " Rupmati and Baz Bahadur", Rajasthani School (*sic*), 18th century, is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; it has been published as a post-card by the Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi.

62. See the India Office Library manuscript, Add. Or. 8 (21.5 x 14 cms), reproduced in colour, Colour Prints No. 17, Provincial Mughal Painting, "Baz Bahadur and Rupmati", London, 1979, described in T. Falk and M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library, London,* Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1981, No. 372, p. 199, reproduced p. 488. Another Mughal painting (c. 1740) of the Johnson Album, 56, No. 1, represents the two

characters, each holding a falcon, near a river with pairs of aquatic birds. In this painting, done in a rather rough style, Rūpamatī looks older than Bāz Bahādur.

63. Reproduced in colour in *Paintings from the Akbar Nama. A Visual Chronicle of Mughal India,* by Geeti Sen, New Delhi, Lustre Press Pvt. Ltd., 1984, "Celebrated dancers from Mandu perform before Akbar", I.S. 2/1896, Acc. No. 16/117, Plate 19, pp. 66-67. See among other published reproductions, a description and a colour reproduction in *Dawn of Mughal Painting* by Asok Kumar Das, Bombay, Vakils, Feffer & Simons Ltd., 1982, Plate X, pp. 28-29 (Size 18.8 x 32.6 cm.). **[= Plate I]**

64. See Annemarie Schimmel and Stuart Cary Welch, *Anvari's Divan: A Pocket Book for Akbar. A Dīvān of Auhaduddin Anvari, copied for the Mughal emperor Jalaluddin Akbar (r. 1556-1605) at Lahore in A.H. 996 / A.D. 1588. Now in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University,* New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983, Folio 243a, described and reproduced in colour, Plate Eight, "Heavenly Joys Come to Earth", attributed to Khem Karan, pp. 101-03.

65. See *The Imperial Image. Paintings for the Mughal Court* by Milo Cleveland Beach, Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1981, No. 15 b, Colorplate p.62, black and white plate, p. 136 and detail p. 132 and also Fig. 22, p. 132, from the *Dīvān of* Anvarī, *op. cit.,* Folio 262 a, described and reproduced in colour, Plate Eleven, pp. 113-15.

66. Dated c. 1765-1770, this miniature is mentioned in *La Peinture Indienne,* by Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, Geneva, Skira-Flammarion, 2nd edn., 1978, p. 191.

67. On Bhāvabhaṭṭa's works relating to Dhrupad, see "Bhāvabhaṭṭa ke granth aur un-men dhruvapad" by Ādināth Upādhyāy, *Dhrupad Annual,* Vol. I, 1986, pp. 68-92; Summary in English by the Editor, "The Works of Bhāvabhaṭṭa and the Treatment of Dhrupad Therein", pp. 93-94.

68. See the manuscript No. 3356 of the *Anūpa Saṁgīta Ratnākara,* kept in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, on folio 88b, in *rāg* Naṭṭanārāyaṇa, "Bahādur Bāj", on folio 141b-142a, *rāg* Jaitaśrī, "Bāj Bahādur Sāhi" and on folio 111a, *rāg* Hamīr, " Rūpamatī". Unfortunately, though I made an

Index of hundreds of *dhrupads*, with the *rāg, tāl* and the possible *chāp*, while collecting compositions with the name of Tānsen and Akbar, I have not been able to note down hundreds of lyrics attributed to other poet-composers, such as Bāz Bahādur, Dhondhī, Cañcal Sasi, Rāmdās, etc. or anonymous.

69. See the manuscript of the *Rāmpur Rāgamālā* (hereafter RRM), Library of the Uttar Pradesh Saṅgīt Nāṭak Akademī, Lucknow, and Kailaś Candra Bṛhaspatī, *Dhruvapada aur uskā vikās*, Patna, Bihār-Raṣṭrabhaṣa-Pariṣad, 1976, on Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī pp. 107-09, 116-17, 215, 217, 292-93. See also three compositions on p. 325, No. 22, *rāg* Gaurasāraṅg, *tāl* cautālā (*RRM*, folio 79a), *sunata bhanaka parī pia āṁmana kī...;* No. 23, *rāg* Naṭ, tāl cautālā (*RRM*, folio 87a), *bichuri duṣa dīnoṁ ho prāna mere āvata kaihūṁ na lāja*...; No. 24, *rāg* Naṭanārāin, *tāl* cautālā (*RRM, folio 88a*), *jīvana jāta dīye dagā*... [See Appendix]

70. See Kṛṣṇānand Vyās, *Saṁgīt Rāg Kalpadrum*, Lithograph, Calcutta, 1852; edited later on by N. Basu, Calcutta, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Three Vols., I-II (Devanāgarī), 1914, Vol. III (Bengali), 1916; for some compositions attributed to Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī see Vol. I, pp. 174, 183, 191-92, 311, 316. [See Appendix]

71. See Indurama Srivastava, *Dhrupada. A Study of its Origin, Historical Development, Structure and Present State*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1980, presentation and analysis, pp. 68-69; text with notation, pp. 114-18, *Vādī samvādī prativādī to ko kahun*.... One may compare this composition with a text attributed to Rūpamatī given in the *Saṁgīta Rāga Kalpadrum*, Vol. I, p. 174, mentioned in Ch. R. Jyotiṣī, *Rāgakalpadrum kā viśleṣaṇātmak adhyayan*, Varanasi, Bimān Group of Publications, p. 165. See also references to another composition ascribed to Rūpamatī, in *Saṁgīta Rāga Kalpadrum*, Vol. I, pp. 191-192 (*pad* No. 30 in *rāg Gurjarī and tāl cautāl*, and *pad* No. 2 in *rāg Gurjarī* and *tāl surphākta*) and some compositions ascribed to Bāz Bahādur, *ibid*, p. 311 and 316. See also R. Nath, op. cit. for some bibliographical references and poetical quotations.

72. For some references and examples translated into English, see L.M. Crump, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33 and 69-82 and R. Nath, *op. cit.* 225-34.

Appendix

I. Three texts from K. C. Bṛhaspati's *Dhrupada aur uska vikās*

१. आगमिष्यत्पतिका : **गोरसारंग-चौताला, ७९ अ**

सुनत भनक परी पीअ आंमन की, जातें प्यारी आभूषन सम्हारत। कबहूँ द्वारे षड़ी होत कबहूँ भूअन ऊपर होत सषिनि संग अैसी चोंप लगी मन भांमन की। अलबेली अलकैं छूटीहैं कुचनि पै और दीअें बेंदी सोभा लामन की। रूपमती पीअ बाजबहादुर इतनी कही समझावन की।।२२।।

1. *Āgmiṣyatpatikā* (The *nāyikā* whose love is about to return)

Rāga - Gaur - sāraṅga, Tāla - Cautal

Having got hints of the arrival of her lover, the dear one (*nāyikā*) is collecting her ornaments. Sometimes she stands at the door, at other times she goes to the roof-top. Alongwith her friends, she is full of excitement and eagerness to meet the one who is dear to her heart. Her beautiful locks hang on her breasts; they lend splendour to the plait. Baz Bahadur, the lover of Rupamati said this much for consolation.

२. विरहिणी : **नट-चौताला, ८७ अ**

बिछुरि दुष दीनों हो प्रान मेरे आवत कैहूं न लाज। जब जु लालन संग निकसि न गऐ अब धौं रहे कौन काज। पापी प्रान रहत घर भीतर करें ही चाहत सुष राज। रूपमती पीअ हम सो न दुषीआ कहा धौं बहादुर बाज।।२३।।

2. *Virahiṇī* (The *nāyikā* in separation from her lover)

Rāgā-Naṭa, Tāla - Cautal

He has pained me through separation, my life does not even feel ashamed in coming back. Why did it not leave me when I was separated from my lover. For what purpose is it still with me. The wretched life lives in its abode (my body) and wants to reign supreme. Rupamati says to her lover that there is no destitute like her, thus has been narrated by Baz Bahadur.

३. वार्द्धक्य : **नटनाराइन-चौताला, ८८ अ**

जीवन जात दीये दगा। और रंगनि की कहा कहौं तोसौं जैसे कसूमी रगा। कारे काग गऐ घर अपने आऐ सेत बगा। रूपमती के बाजबहादूर कोऊ न जीवै सदा।।२४।।

Vārdhakya (Old age)

Raga - Naṭa - nārāyan, Tāla - Cautal

Life is cheating me. What should I say to you about the disappearence of other colours, just like the kusumbhi (orange) colour. The black crows have gone back to their homes and white cranes have come in. (This refers to black hair turning grey). Rupamati says to her lover, Baz Bahadur, that nobody lives forever.

II. Texts found in SRKD Vol. I

1. Page 119; Song no. 56; Rāga - Toḍi; Tāla - ?

११९ पद सं० ५६

राग टोड़ी

पचत गुनी सब धुरपद को कोउ न पावै
बाज बहादुर के अङ्ग।
छन्द कवित्त धारु त्रेवट तो हो (ताहा) पै जो बन आवत
जोई पावत दरस परस वा के सङ्ग।
सङ्गीत - रत्नाकर के लछ लछन भेद हनुमंत
कामनाथ भरत जानत मत मतङ्ग।
ऐसो दाता सुर पूरो राजा रामचन्द
देत करोरन रीझत रीझत रागरङ्ग।।

All experts strive in vain; none accomplishes dhrupad in the aṅga (style) of Baj Bahadur.

He alone becomes adept in rendering chanda, kavitta, dhāru, trivaṭa (various song - forms), who is close to him (Baj Bahadur) and enjoys his company.

He knows the distinct lakṣya (practice) and lakṣaṇa (theory) mentioned in Saṅgīta - ratnākara and also knows the opinions of Hanumat, Kāmanāth (Kallināth?), Bharata and Mataṅga (these names seem to be pertinent in the context of rāga).

Raja Ramchandra is such a benefactor who is perfect in musicality and gives away crores when he is charmed with the delightfulness of rāga.

2. Page 174; Song no. 2, Rāga - Gurjari; Tāla - Sulaphakta

रा०क - १७४ / राग - गुर्जरी, ताल सुरफाक्ता

पद : २ - रूपमती/राजबहादुर

पाँवड़े पलकन के करों धारो जब राज (बा) बहादुर मोतन धरे चरन।
वार वार डारो सकल आभूषण मोको तो पिय की सुदिष्ट सकल आभरन।
वन वन माने सो न माने सुधारे पिया अपने करन।
रूपमति के बिछुरन को दुस भूल जाय सब मुखले हो आसरन॥

I will turn my eyelashes into carpets for welcome when Baj Bahadur moves his feet towards me.

Let all the ornaments be given away for his welfare; for me the kind look oı my lover is equal to all ornaments.

The last two lines are not clear; there is a reference to the separation of Rupamati from her lover.

3. Page 311; Song no. 19; Rāga - Bihag; Tāla - Titālā

३११ राग बिहाग तिताला, पद १९

उमगेरी दोऊ बदरा श्याम विना।
सुनरी सखी पिया सपने में देखे भर आए नीर ढरक गयो कजरा।
रूपमती पी बाज बहादुर तज गए गोकुल मिट गऐ झगरा।।

Two clouds have arisen in the separation from Shyam.

Listen O friend! I saw my lover in a dream. Seeing him my eyes were filled with water and the kajal (black paste) of my eyes got washed away.

Baj Bahadur, the lover of Rupamati left Gokul and all troubles were eradicated.

4. Page 316; Rāga - Bihag; Tāla - Fast Titālā

३१६ — बिहाग — जलद तिताल

श्याम बिना उमगे री दोउ बदरा।
रूपमती के बाज बहादुर तज दियो गोकुल, मिट गयो झगरा।।

This song repeats the first and last lines of the above song bearing number 3.

III. Text from Indurama Srivastava's 'Dhrupada ....', p. 126-129. Comparison with SRKD Vol. I p. 119.

Indurama Srivastava		SRKD	
Rāga - Utari Gunakali	Chautala	Raga Gurjari	Titala
स्थायी- वादी संवादी प्रतिवादी तो को कहूँ आज।		वादी संवादी प्रतिवादी तो सो को है आज।	
अन्तरा- सप्तस्वर तीन ग्राम उनचास कूट को जहाज।		सप्त सुर तीन ग्राम उनचास कोट को जहाज।	
संचारी- उरप तिरप लाग डाँट नेम प्रीत आतक खातक स्वरांतक साध।		उरप तिरप डाँट लाग नेम वृक्ष आतक खातक स्वरांतक साज।	
आभोग- रूपमती प्रभु गुन सागर चौद विया गुन निधान महाराज।।		रूपमति प्रभु गुन सागर चौदे विद्या गुननिधान महाराज।।	

Let me tell you about vādī, saṁvādī, prativādī today.

(Vādī, saṁvādī, vivādi and anuvādī are the four types of notes mentioned in all saṅgītśāstra - texts.).

There is the 'ship' of seven *svaras*, three *grāmas* and fortynine *kūṭa* (*tānas*).

There are embellishments known as *urapa* - *tirapa*, *lāga* - *ḍañṭa*, *nema* - *prema*, *ātaka* - *khātaka* and *svarāntaka*. (All these are technical terms from oral tradition).

The lord of Rūpamatī is an ocean of proficiency, is a repository of fourteen vidyās, and he is a great ruler.

बाज़ बहादुर- मालवा का सुलतान व अकबर का दरबारी संगीतज्ञ

फ्रांस्वाज़ देलुवा 'नलिनी'

(सम्पादिका-कृत सार-संक्षेप)

मध्यकालीन भारत के जिन मुस्लिम शासकों ने संगीत, विशेषकर कण्ठ-संगीत एवं अनुमानतः ध्रुपद को संरक्षण दिया, उनमें मालवा के सुलतान, बाज़ बहादुर (१५५४-१५७०) का नाम उल्लेखनीय है जो कि स्वयं एक प्रसिद्ध संगीतज्ञ व वाग्गेयकार था। बीजापुर के सुलतान, इब्राहिम आदिल शाह द्वितीय (१५८०-१६२७) की रचनायें उसके जीवन-काल में ही 'किताब-ए-नौरस' नामक ग्रन्थ में सङ्कलित हो चुकी थीं जबकि बाज़ बहादुर की रचनायें सीमित हैं और पाण्डुलिपियों, लिथो तथा छपी हुई सामग्रियों में बिखरी हुई हैं।

बाज़ बहादुर या बायज़ीद के राजनीतिक जीवन पर समकालीन भारतीय-फारसी लिपिबद्ध इतिहास से प्रकाश पड़ता है। वह शुजात खान का पुत्र था जिसे दिल्ली के सुल्तान शेर शाह सूरी ने मालवा का शासक नियुक्त किया था।

फारसी में लिखित स्रोतों से बाज़ बहादुर के जीवन के सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक पहलुओं, विशेषकर संगीत एवं नृत्य के प्रति उसकी अभिरुचि पर प्रकाश पड़ता है। रूपमती के प्रति बाज़ बहादुर के प्रेम ने अनेकों दन्तकथाओं को जन्म दिया है। रूपमती स्वयं एक कवयित्री एवं संगीतकार थी।

७९३/१३९०-९१ में दिल्ली के सुलतान, मुहम्मद शाह, ने दिलावर खाँ लोदी को मालवा का शासक नियुक्त किया। दिलावर खाँ लोदी ने ८०४/१४०१ में 'अमिद शाह दाऊद' की उपाधि अपनाते हुए मालवा के स्वतन्त्र राज्य की स्थापना की। एक कुशल राजनीतिज्ञ होने के कारण उसे मध्य भारत में अपने राज्य के सामरिक महत्त्व का ज्ञान था अतः उसने अपने पड़ोसी देशों— गुजरात, खानदेश व बहमनियों—के साथ मधुर सम्बन्ध बना रखे थे। प्राप्त शिलालेखों से यह ज्ञात होता है कि अपने समय तक (८०९/१४०६-७) उसने मालवा को एक स्वतन्त्र राज्य के रूप में स्थापित किया तथा उसकी संस्कृति पर विशेष ध्यान दिया। उसने स्थापत्य-

कला एवं इस्लाम पूर्व की इमारतों में कई तब्दीलियाँ लाईं। माण्डू शादियाबाद या 'खुशियों का शहर' के नाम ने जाना जाने लगा।

८०९/१४०६ में अल्प खाँ, दिलावर खाँ लोदी का एकमात्र पुत्र, मालवा का शासक बना। उसने सुल्तान होशांग शाह की उपाधि ली। ८०९/१४०७ में गुजरात के सुल्तान, मुज़फ्फर शाह (१३९६-१४११) ने मालवा पर आक्रमण किया एवं झूठे आश्वासन और सन्धि के शर्तों पर होशांग शाह को बन्दी बनाकर गुजरात ले गया। सुल्तान मुज़फ्फर ने अपने भाई, नुसरत खाँ, को मालवा का शासक बनाया परन्तु मालवा की सेना और अभिजात्य-वर्ग ने इसका कड़ा प्रतिरोध किया जिसके फलस्वरूप उसे भागना पड़ा। ८११/१४०८ में होशांग शाह के सम्बन्धी, मूसा खान के नेतृत्व में मालवा के अमीर व सेना माण्डू में एकत्रित हुए। इस घटना ने मुज़फ्फर शाह को बाध्य किया कि वह होशांग शाह को मुक्त करे। उसने होशांग शाह को एक गुजराती राजकुमार, अहमद शाह, के साथ मालवा भेजा परन्तु अहमद शाह मालवा को जीतने में असफल रहा और वापस गुजरात लौट गया। धार में रहते हुए, होशांग शाह ने माण्डू पर अधिकार करना चाहा जो अभी भी मूसा खान के कब्जे में था। इसके लिए उसने सुलह एवं युद्धनीति, दोनों अपनायीं और ऐसे अमीरों की सहायता से, जिन्होंने मूसा खान का साथ छोड़ दिया था, माण्डू पर अधिकार प्राप्त करने में सफल रहा। वह एक कुशल शासक सिद्ध हुआ और अपने पड़ोसी देश— गुजरात, खानदेश, कल्पी, जौनपुर तथा बहमनियों के साथ उसने मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध स्थापित किये। वह हिन्दुओं, विशेषकर राजपूतों एवं जैनों, के साथ अपने अच्छे सम्बन्ध के कारण भी प्रसिद्ध है। उसकी मृत्यु ८३८/१४३५ में एक रहस्यमयी बीमारी के कारण हुई। कई पारिवारिक युद्धों के बाद गज़नी खान, होशांग शाह का प्रथम पुत्र, मुहम्मद शाह गोरी के नाम से मालवा का शासक बना। उसे अपनी प्रजा का समर्थन प्राप्त था परन्तु अपने अनुचित खून-खराबे और भाईयों की हत्या के कारण वह शीघ्र ही अपनी लोकप्रियता खो बैठा।

८७३/१४६१ में महमूद शाह खिलजी प्रथम के राज्याभिषेक के साथ एक नये राजवंश की स्थापना हुई। महमूद केरमानी की "मासेर-ए-महमूद शाही" (८७२/१४६७-६८) से ज्ञात होता है कि महमूद शाह एक महान भवन-निर्माता व भवनों का पुनरूद्धार करने वाला था।

बाज़ बहादुर के पिता, शुजात खान, को शेर शाह सूरी ने मालवा पर पूर्ण अधिकार प्रदान किया था, परन्तु उसके पुत्र, इस्लाम शाह, से अनबन्न होने के कारण

शुजात खान के स्थान पर ईसा खान को मालवा का शासक नियुक्त किया गया। इस्लाम शाह की मृत्यु के उपरान्त (९६१/१५५३), उसके उत्तराधिकारी मुबरीज़ खान उर्फ़ आदिल शाह ने पुनः शुजात खान को मालवा का शासक नियुक्त किया। शुजात खान की मृत्यु के बाद (९६२/१५५४-५५), उसका पुत्र बायज़ीद खान अपने प्रतिद्वन्द्वी, दौलत खान उजियाला जो कि इस्लाम शाह और शुजात खान का निकट सहयोगी था, एवं छोटे भाई को मार कर गद्दी पर बैठ गया और बाज़ बहादुर के नाम से जाना जाने लगा। उसका अधिकांश समय भोग-विलास व संगीत में व्यतीत होता था।

मुगलकालीन भारतीय-फारसी स्रोत बाज़ बहादुर के इतिहास पर काफी प्रकाश डालते हैं। इनमें अबुल फ़ज्ल का 'अकबरनामा', अब्द अल-कादिर अल-बदायूनी का 'मुन्तखब अल-तवारीख़', निज़ामुद्दीन अहमद का 'तबकात-ए-अकबरी', मोहम्मद कासिम फरिश्ता का 'तारीखे-फरिश्ता' या 'गुलशने-इब्राहिमी' तथा शेख फरीद बक्कारी का 'ज़खीरत अल-ख़वानिन' (१५५०-१६५०) समकालीन माने जा सकते हैं तथा साम्य रखते हैं। नवाब अल दौला शाह नवाज़ खान का 'म'आसिर अल-उमरा' (१५००-c. १७८०) भी रोचक जानकारी प्रस्तुत करता है।

अपने शासन के पाँचवें वर्ष (९६६/१५५९) में ही अकबर ने बाज़ बहादुर को शाही दरबार में बुलाने का निश्चय कर लिया था। यद्यपि अकबर कलाओं का प्रशंसक एवं संरक्षक था, तथापि बाज़ बहादुर को बुलाने का ध्येय मालवा पर अधिकार प्राप्त करना ही था। उसने बहादुर खान को एक विशाल सेना के साथ मालवा जीतने के लिए भेजा परन्तु अत्यावश्यक कारणों से उसे यह योजना स्थगित करनी पड़ी। अगले वर्ष (९६८/१५६१) अधम खान, पीर मुहम्मद खान एवं अब्दुल्ला खान के नेतृत्व में मुगल टुकड़ियाँ मालवा पहुँचीं। युद्ध में अपमानित व पराजित होने के बाद बाज़ बहादुर ने खानदेश और बरहानपुर की तरफ पलायन किया।

अबुल फ़ज्ल के विवरण से ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि अधम खान ने जीता हुआ सारा माल-असबाब अकबर को नहीं भेजा जिसके फलस्वरूप अकबर को ९६८/१५६१ अप्रैल में मालवा जाना पड़ा। सम्राट् के अप्रत्याशित आगमन से अधम खान स्तब्ध रह गया परन्तु अकबर ने उसके प्रति काफी उदारता दिखाई और उसके महल में ही निवास किया। दूसरे दिन अधम खान की माता ने सम्राट् के सम्मान में एक विशाल आयोजन किया और बाध्य होकर अधम खान को बाज़ बहादुर से लूटी हुई सारी सम्पत्ति अकबर को भेंट करनी पड़ी। अकबर ने बड़ी उदारता से

भेंट स्वीकार की और कुछ उपहार अधम खान को दिये व चार दिन सारंगपुर में रुका। परन्तु कुछ अन्य कारणों से अधम खान, जो कि एक 'पंजहजारी' भी था, अकबर के कोप से नहीं बच सका और अगले ही वर्ष (९६९/१५६२) उसे छत से नीचे फेंक दिया गया।

इस बीच मुगल सेना बाज़ बहादुर का पीछा करती रही और उसके साथ एक युद्ध में पीर मुहम्मद खान नर्मदा नदी पार करते हुए डूब कर मर गया जिसके फलस्वरूप पुनः बाज़ बहादुर मालवा का एकछत्र सम्राट् बन गया। इसके पश्चात् अब्दुल्ला खान उज़बेग ने एक विशाल सेना के साथ मालवा पर आक्रमण किया। उसका मुकाबला करना बाज़ बहादुर की क्षमता के बाहर था, अतः वह मालवा छोड़ कर भाग गया। उदयपुर के राणा उदय सिंह ने उसे कुछ समय के लिए आश्रय दिया और मालवा पर मुगलों ने पुनः आधिपत्य स्थापित कर लिया।

१५६४ में अकबर ने एक बार फिर बाज़ बहादुर को अपने दरबार में लाने का प्रयास किया। बाज बहादुर ने इस मौके का लाभ उठाना चाहा और अकबर के पास जाने का निश्चय किया। परन्तु कुछ कारणों से ऐसा सम्भव नहीं हो सका और अकबर के दूतों को खाली हाथ लौटना पड़ा। अन्ततः १५७० में बाज़ बहादुर अकबर के दरबार में स्थान पाने में सफल रहा। 'आइन-ए-अकबरी' के अनुसार अकबर के दरबारी संगीतज्ञों में बाज़ बहादुर का स्थान नौवाँ था और ऐसा माना जाता था कि गाने में उसका कोई जोड़ नहीं था। उसकी मृत्यु सम्भवतः १००१/१५९२-९३ में हुई।

कुछ समकालीन इतिहास बाज़ बहादुर के राजनीतिक जीवन विशेषकर कर-कण्टक की रानी, दुर्गावती, के साथ युद्ध तथा भोग-विलास व संगीत में उसकी रुचि पर प्रकाश डालते हैं।

अल-बदायूनी के अनुसार, बाज़ बहादुर ने दिल्ली के सुलतान, आदिल खान उर्फ अदली से संगीत की शिक्षा प्राप्त की। तानसेन भी अदली के शिष्य थे। परन्तु प्रश्न यह उठता है कि बाज़ बहादुर न तो दिल्ली का निवासी था न ही कलाकार, तब उसने सुलतान से शिक्षा कब और कैसे प्राप्त की। पैदा होने के बाद से ही वह सदैव मालवा या उसके आस-पास रहा था। सुलतान गायक था या वादक एवं किस शैली का विशेषज्ञ था, यह प्रश्न भी अनुत्तरित है। अन्य इतिहासकार बाज़ बहादुर के किसी गुरु की चर्चा नहीं करते।

यह एक आश्चर्य की बात है कि भारतीय-फारसी स्रोत अन्य संगीतज्ञ जैसे तानसेन और नायक बख्शू की तुलना में बाज़ बहादुर के सम्बन्ध में काफी कम जानकारी प्रस्तुत करते हैं। उदाहरणतः 'राग दर्पण' के लेखक फकीरउल्लाह ने बाज़ बहादुर का उल्लेख मियाँ तानसेन व नायक बख्शू के साथ किया है तथा इस बात पर विचार किया है कि इन कलाकारों में से कौन राग पूरिया - धनाश्री का उस्ताद और नायक रहा होगा। उसके मतानुसार, ये तीनों ही उच्च-कोटि के संगीतज्ञ थे। कुछ समय बाद के लेखक, मिर्ज़ा खान ने अपने 'तुहफत अल-हिन्द' (१६७५) में बाज़ बहादुर को बाज बहादुर के नाम से सम्बोधित करते हुए यह बतलाया है कि अकबर के दरबारी संगीतज्ञों में उसका नौवाँ स्थान था, परन्तु उसकी संगीतज्ञों की सूची अबुल फ़ज्ल की 'आइन-ए-अकबरी' की सूची से भिन्न है।

बाज़ बहादुर की मृत्यु का कारण अज्ञात है और रूपमती के साथ उसकी संयुक्त समाधि भी विवादास्पद है। उसकी और रूपमती की प्रेम-कथा पर आधारित कई चित्र विभिन्न संग्रहालयों में उपलब्ध हैं जिसका विवरण लेखिका ने प्रस्तुत किया है। 'अनूप-संगीतरत्नाकर' की दो रचनाओं में बाज़ बहादुर व एक रचना में रूपमती की छाप मिलती है। आचार्य कैलाशचन्द्र बृहस्पति की 'ध्रुपद और उसका विकास' में बाज़ बहादुर तथा रूपमती, दोनों से सम्बन्धित तीन रचनाओं की चर्चा की गई है। 'संगीत-राग-कल्पद्रुम' में भी इन दोनों से सम्बन्धित कुछ ध्रुपद मिलते हैं। रानी रूपमती की छाप का एक ध्रुपद इन्दुरमा श्रीवास्तव ने स्वरलिपि के साथ दिया है जिसे पं. भरतजी व्यास ने राग उत्तरी गुणकली तथा ताल चौताल में गोबरहारबानी के उदाहरण के रुप में गाया है।

तानसेन तथा नायक बख्शू की तुलना में बाज़ बहादुर पर अपेक्षाकृत कम सामग्री मिलती है जिसके कारण यह निर्णय करना कठिन हो जाता है कि उसमें ऐसी क्या विशेषता थी कि अकबर जैसा कला-मर्मज्ञ भी उसका सम्मान करता था।

THE PADA IN THE DAGAR TRADITION

RITWIK SANYAL

The articles in the previous issues of the Dhrupad Annual dealt with the history, genealogy, musical characteristics, voice, *ālāp*, *tālā* and *laykārī* in the Dagar Tradition.

In this article, it is proposed to examine briefly the different aspect of *pada* or song-text as performed in the Dagar Tradition. Some *padas* have been cited in my article on *Sādrā* (DA 1992). My observations are based on the intensive training I had with Ustads Zia Mohiuddin Dagar and Zia Fariduddin Dagar in the oral tradition.

Pada **in a performance**-- **The** *pada* is directly related to the *ālāp* in a performance. The Dagars try to evoke the same mood or *rasa* of the song-text in the rendering of *ālāp-jod.* We can say that the *ālāp* serves as a *sthāyī bhāva* in the depiction of the *rasa* of the song-text. They are not two segregated pieces. There is a perfect unity and continuity of the feeling - content of what follows from *ālāp* to *pada* and its *laykārī* variations. The *rāga* gradually blossoms in abstract in the *ālāp* with a definite mood in mind; it takes a complete shape in the song-text culminating into concrete and absolute beauty. This journey from the beginning to the end of the performance has always been a challenging and difficult task in the Dagar tradition involving every bit of one's energy, sensitivity and dedication.

In this context, the same *rāga* could pose two different moods. The feeling - content of the *ālāp* would change according to the poetic-content of the song-text. The whole attitude to *ālāp* preceding the *bandish* changes due to the mood of the *pada.* This establishes the inner coherence that exists between the melody and song-text in a good performance of the Dagar tradition. Here, it is worth mentioning that in the process of training in the Dagar tradition, the song-text is taught initially followed by the system of *ālāp-jod.* By repeating the song, the intensity of the feeling - content is assimilated and taken care of. We were then trained to pick up cue from the original and beautiful phrases of the song-text and apply it in the improvisation of *ālāp* and

in the rendering of the *rāga*. This is how the *ālāp* becomes meaningful with reference to the *pada*.

Pada and Individual temperament-- The performance of the song-text is mostly enlivened by the individual temperament, mood and personality of the singer. I have heard both my ustads singing the same dhrupad with the same notation but evoking different moods. One was sublime and profound; the other was robust and majestic. The imminent change noticeable was that of *laya*. One was medium slow; the other, medium fast. It was a rich blend of individual characteristics with judicious ornamentation. What emerged was sheer beauty and elegance.

Pada in improvisation-- The *pada* is improvised through rhythmic intensification in the form of simple *upaj* or *bolbaṁṭ*. In simple *upaj*, the poetic-content of the song is highlighted and improvised in rhythm akin to *ālāp-jod*. *Bol-baṃṭ* demands rthythmic interplay with the pakhawaj. But for the Dagars, the *bol-baṃṭ* of dhrupad becomes a meaningful interplay where the *rāga*, *tāla*, *laya* and the melodic content are not distorted beyond proportion to preserve the unity of the performance. The *laykārī* has to be in consistence with the mood of the *bandish*. Because of this consistency in performance, the *ālāp* appears to merge in the song and sometimes the song appears to merge in *ālāp* (*ālāp*-like phrases). How true the whole performance becomes a poetry!

Oral transmission of *padas*-- There have been composers (*vāggeyakāra*) in the tradition. It is believed that Ustad Behram *Khan's guru* Baba Kalidas of Mathura was a composer-singer and his compositions are sung in the Dagar repertory. Behram Khan's grandson Enayat Khan was also a good composer and singer. Their repertoire also includes *dhruvapadas* of Nayak Gopal, Nayak Haridas, Baiju, Tansen, Bakshu and some *aṣṭachāp* poets. Some dhrupads have crept into the tradition from the disciples of Behram Khan. The Dagars also sing many rare *rāgas* and we have some exclusive dhrupads in these *rāgas* sung only in this tradition. Behram Khan also infused Carnatic Rāgas into the tradition and we have some nice dhrupads in these *rāgas*.

Here are some examples of typical dhrupads sung in the tradition.

Rāga Rupawati

Nāda grama sura pada vidhi guṇa vargāl asthāna

ālāpa gamaka surati tāla racanā gāna

saj sahaj gahana jhurata purata

lag dāṇṭ tikha cokha surasaṇgat soṅ

yāhī vidhi gāye vajāye kah hai purakhana ke mat

ākār gamak lahak dagar dhuran muran kampit andol

sphurti hudak udatta anudatta svarit vedan ko yeh tat

adāraṅg gān mūl cār varna alaṅkara sāra

kṛpa guru jana ki ālāp āye vāye tat.

This dhrupad was recited by Ustad Nasir Aminuddin Dagar during my meeting with him in Calcutta in the late eighties. The dhrupad enumerates the ten characteristics (finesses) of singing and playing in the Dagar vani (vide DA 1986).

Raga Suha Dhamar

Eri mai kāse kahun ve to kanha

Taka taka mārata pickāri

Ranga kesara ki bhara pickāri

Hāthan liye gulāl bhara jhori

Raga Bihag Dhamar

Kahan se tuma mada pi aye ho

Sanvaro jāye vidha paga dharata digamagāta

Abira gulal mukha ranga lāyo

Bolata ho vacana laṭapaṭāta

Dhamar has been a forte with my ustads bringing out distinct flavour and movement in the style. Their father Ziauddin Dagar was regarded a great dhamar singer and received the honour, Dhamarnath, during his time. The dhamar in this tradition is flexible, crooked and serpentine-like in character. Off-beat rhythmic variations make the dhamar compositions more playful and dynamic.

Some protagonists of dhrupad claim that there should be no *laykārī* in dhrupad and *laykārī* only in dhamar songs. My ustads believe that *laykārī* is a spontaneous process created by the singer effortlessly. It is an inner flow which finds a good outlet in rhythmic variations. But care should be taken not to distort the poetic content.

Raga Sohini, Sultal

Prathama adi śiva śakti nāda parameśwara

Nārada tumburu saraswati bhaja re

Anahata adi nada guna sagara svarupa

Akṣara sudha budha mana gunijana re

Adi dharani śeṣa āda suraja candra

Parana pani anumana re

Adi baiju kavi guna prasada

Tīna lokana ke avata gunijana re.

Rāja Malkaunsh, Sultal

Śankara girijapati parvati patisvara

Gale runda mālā mahāmāyā maheśvara

Jaṭā me gangā trilocana triśula dhara

Namo kailaśapati sativara bhuvaneśvara

Rāga Bhīmpalāsī, Choutal

Kuñjana me raco rāsa adbhuta liye gopāla

Kuṇḍala ki jhalaka dekha koṭi madana aṭakyo.

Adhara to suranga ranga bansuri suhāla sanga

Teḍhi chabi dekh dekh mohana mukh par aṭakyo.

Raga Chalnat (Jog) Tivra

Nāda veda so nyāro kara dikhlave jo soi guṇi

Taba hama jāne māne

Nāda ke aṣṭadi aṅga nāda veda doi bheda

Dīje anahata nāda jo pehele bāyisa śruti pehacāna

Sa sa sa ga ga ga ga ma ma ma pa pa ni pa

Ma pa ma ga ma ga sa

My ustad used to rightly say that *rasa* is inherent in the meaning of the *pada* but it is the singer who makes it come alive; it is possible only if the singer has the feeling within him.

डागर परम्परा में पद

ऋत्विक् सान्याल

(सम्पादिका-कृत सार-संक्षेप)

ध्रुपद वार्षिकी के पिछले अङ्कों में डागर परम्परा के इतिहास, वंशावली, सांगीतिक लक्षण, कण्ठ, आलाप, ताल और लयकारी—इतने पक्षों पर विचार किया जा चुका है। प्रस्तुत लेख में इस परम्परा के पद-पक्ष पर संक्षेप में विचार किया जायेगा।

पद का पूरे प्रयोग या प्रस्तुति (Performance) पर प्रभाव होता है, विशेष रूप से उपज के काम में, जिसमें कि लयकारी भी शामिल है। पद का यह प्रभाव इतना व्यापक है कि एक ही राग का भाव पद के अनुसार भिन्न-भिन्न हो सकता है। पद के भाव के अनुसार बन्दिश के पूर्व के आलाप की भाव-छाया भी कुछ-न-कुछ बदल जाती है।

ताल का तो पद के साथ सहज सम्बन्ध है। लेखक ने अपने उस्ताद कि प्रस्तुति में सुना था कि एक ही स्वर-लिपि वाला ध्रुपद भिन्न-भिन्न भाव-छाया खड़ी कर सकता था (भाव-भेद उपजाने की इस कला का आधार लय-भेद और उच्चार-भेद रहा होगा)।

डागर परम्परा में कई वाग्गेयकार हुए हैं, ऐसा माना जाता है कि उस्ताद बहराम खाँ के गुरु बाबा कालिदास, जो कि मथुरावासी थे, अच्छे वाग्गेयकार थे। उनकी बन्दिशें डागरों के संग्रह में है। बहराम खाँ के पौत्र इनायत खाँ भी अच्छे वाग्गेयकार और गायक थे। इस परम्परा के पद-संग्रह में नायक गोपाल, स्वामी हरिदास, बैजू, बख्शू, तानसेन आदि की रचनायें हैं। कुछ राग ऐसे हैं जिनमें केवल डागर-परम्परा में ही बन्दिशें प्राप्त हैं। इस परम्परा में प्राप्त कुछ रचनाओं के उदाहरण लेखक ने प्रस्तुत किये हैं।

प्रख्यात मृदङ्गाचार्य राजा छत्रपति सिंह द्वारा निर्मित १९९५ की तिथिपञ्जिका (Calender) सूचक सूत्रात्मक दोहा

[प्रस्तुत दोहा और उसकी व्याख्या राजा छत्रपति सिंहजी ने सम्पादिका को एक व्यक्तिगत पत्र में भेजी थी; आशा है ध्रुपद वार्षिकी के पाठकों के लिये यह रुचिकर होगा।- सम्पा.]

जन अक रवि फ न मार्च बुध शनि अप्रैल जुलाई।

अग मंगल गुरु जून सों में, सित दिस, भृगु गाई।।

जन = जनवरी, अक = अक्टूबर— इन दोनों महीनों की १ तारीख रविवार; उसी दिन ८, १५, २२ और २९ ता. भी।

फ = फरवरी, न = नवम्बर, तथा मार्च—इन तीनों महीनों की १- बुधवार; उसी दिन ८, १५, २२, २९ ता. भी।

अप्रैल तथा जुलाई - इन दोनों महीनों की पहली तारीख शनिवार; उसी दिन ८, १५, २२, २९ ता. भी।

अग = अगस्त की पहली तथा ८, १५, २२, २९ तारीख - मंगलवार।

जून महीने की पहली तथा ८, १५, २२, २९ तारीख - गुरुवार।

मई महीने की पहली तथा ८, १५, २२, २९ तारीख - सोमवार

सित = सितम्बर की पहली तथा ८, १५, २२, २९ तारीख - शुक्रवार

दिस = दिसम्बर की पहली तथा ८, १५, २२, २९ तारीख - शुक्रवार

शेष सब तारीखें और दिन इसी के अनुसार जाने जा सकते हैं।

इस प्रकार उक्त दोहे से सन् १९९५ की प्रत्येक तारीख ज्ञात की जा सकती है।

बङ्गाल में पखावज की स्थापना, प्रसार और राजीवलोचन डे

अशोक ठाकुर

राजीवलोचन डे अपने शिष्यों को सिखाते थे कि सङ्गत तो सङ्गीत का प्राण है। वे समझ गये थे कि कलकत्ता और पूरे बङ्गाल के ध्रुपद-सङ्गीत क्यों अवनति के पथ पर चल पड़ा है। एक ओर ख्याल में विलम्बित ठेके पर निर्भर रहते हुए विलम्बित गान का ढंग और फिर ठेके को बुनियाद बना कर द्रुत गान का चलन, समय-समय पर 'साथ' और जवाबी संगत तथा दूसरी ओर ध्रुपद के आलाप-जोड़-झाला में किसी प्रकार बिना किसी ठेके के चलना और बाद में बन्दिश शुरू होने के साथ-साथ पखावज पर परन-तिहाई बजाते रहना एवं लयकारी के साथ-साथ पखावज का साथ- संगत होता रहा है। इसके फलस्वरूप, जिस ताल में गाना चल रहा है उसका रूप हाथ से न दिखायें तो समझ में आना सम्भव नहीं है एवं इससे नाना प्रकार के विभ्रम की सृष्टि, आनन्द के दान और ग्रहण में बाधा, सन्तुष्टि का अभाव इत्यादि खड़े हो जाते हैं। ध्रुपद-पखावज के नये कलाकारों के आने पर यह सब प्रकट होने लगा।

यह चिन्ता मन में रखते हुए उन्होंने प्रचार करना शुरू किया- ''पखावज की आवाज़ गाने के नीचे रहे। आवश्यकता के अनुसार ठेका रखो और समता रख कर साथ-संगत करो।'' उनके अपने वादन में भी हमें यही ध्यान में आता था कि कभी छोटे हाथ का, कभी खुले हाथ का आवश्यकता के अनुसार प्रयोग होता था। एकल (solo) वादन में भी उन्होंने परिवर्तन लाया। बोल-परन में विस्तार और लयकारी का मजा, कायदा और रेला की भाँति ले आए। मेरे साथ विभिन्न घरानों के बाज के हिसाब से विभिन्न वाद्दकों के एकल वादन के विषय में उनकी चर्चा होती थी एवं उसमें उनकी प्रधान बात यही थी कि तबले में विभिन्न बाजों का मिश्रण होने से कई प्रकार की उन्नति हुई है। पखावज के एकल वादन में भी उन्नति लाना हो तो उसे ऐसा सोच कर बजाना होगा जिससे कि साधारण श्रोताओं को अच्छा लगे। इस सोच का अर्थ जो लोग'समझ पाये वे ही राजीवलोचनजी के पास शिक्षण लेने और संगत सीखने दौड़े चले आये। उनकी यह लोकप्रियता महफिल में समझ में आती थी। तब दिखाई देता था कि एक के बाद एक सभी कलाकार उन्हीं के साथ

गाते चले जाते थे। किन्तु उनके पास शिक्षण लेने जो लोग आते थे, वे अपनी संकीर्णता की सीमा के बाहर यदि नहीं आ पाते थे तो कुछ दिन बाद खुद अपने आप उनके पास से हट जाते थे। उनके कुछ लेखन और कलकत्ते के कुछ गुणियों से जो जानकारी मिली, उसी से मुझे पखावज के प्रचार और विस्तार के विषय में जानने में सहायता मिली है।

अट्ठारहवीं शताब्दी के अन्तिम चरण में, सम्राट् द्वितीय शाह आलम के राज्य का अवसान होने पर दिल्ली दरबार के गण्यमान्य गायक और वादक अनेक स्थानों में बिखर गये। उनमें से किन्हीं ने क्षेत्रिय राजाओं के दरबार में और किन्हीं ने जमींदारों के यहाँ आश्रय लिया। इन सब राजाओं और जमींदारों के कारण ही तत्कालीन अंग्रेज शासकों की ओर से पृष्ठ-पोषकता न रहने पर भी हिन्दुस्तानी संगीत पूरी तरह से नष्ट नहीं हो पाया। बंगाल में आये हुए गुणियों में उल्लेखनीय हैं- बहादुर खाँ, पीरबख्श (विष्णुपुर), बड़े मियाँ, हदू खाँ, गुलाम अब्बास (मुर्शिदाबाद), मान खाँ (चुँचुड़ा) इत्यादि। पीरबख्श थे मृदंग-वादक। उन्हें बाद में कलकत्ता के हरकुमार ठाकुर के सभा-वादक होने का सम्मान मिला था। इस घराने के विशिष्ट मृदंग-वादक थे बंगाल के स्वनामधन्य संगीताचार्य राधिका प्रसाद गोस्वामी के पिता जगतचाँद गोस्वामी। बाद में इस घराने के विशिष्ट कलाकार हुए नित्यानन्द गोस्वामी और सुबोध नन्दी।

उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के मध्य भाग से ढाका जिले में संगीत का व्यापक प्रचार हुआ। उस समय उपेन्द्रनाथ बसाक जैसे उत्कृष्ट मृदंग-वादक बहुत कम ही थे। उनमें उल्लेखनीय थे- रामकुमार बसाक, गौरमोहन बसाक, सतीशचन्द्र बसाक इत्यादि। प्रसिद्ध तबला-वादक प्रसन्न कुमार वणिक ने पहले गौरमोहन बसाक से पखावज का शिक्षण लिया था। इन्होंने 'तबला तरङ्गिणी' और 'मृदंग-प्रवेशिका' के नाम से दो ग्रन्थों का प्रणयन किया था। शान्तिपुर के अक्षयचन्द्र सरकार बीसवीं शताब्दी के चौथे-पाँचवें दशक के अन्यतम मृदंग-वादक थे।

विष्णुपुर की संगीत-साधना के साथ-साथ कलकत्ते के विभिन्न अंचलों में भी विशिष्ट धनिकों और जमींदारों की पृष्ठ-पोषकता में ध्रुपद-धमार और मृदंग के शिक्षण-केन्द्र खड़े हो गये थे। पाथुरियाघाटा के सौरीन्द्र मोहन ठाकुर के उद्योग से संगीत-विद्यालय स्थापित हुआ। श्री ठाकुर की भारतीय और यूरोपीय संगीत में विशेष दक्षता थी। उनकी रचित 'मृदंग-मञ्जरी' बंगला भाषा में मृदंग पर उल्लेखनीय ग्रन्थ है।

भगवान् दास
(भवानी प्रसाद सिंह)
लाला केवल किशन
श्रीराम चक्रवर्ती
मुरारि गुप्त
कुदऊ सिंह
मदनमोहनजी (पुत्र)
केशव मित्र
दीनानाथ हाजरा
स्वामी विवेकानन्द
सतीश चन्द्र दत्त
(दानी बाबू)
दुर्लभचन्द्र भट्टाचार्य
देवेन्द्रनाथ डे
(सुबोध बाबू)
गुलाम अब्बास
राजीवलोचन डे के पिता ने इस घराने में शिक्षा ली थी।
राजीवलोचन डे के पितामह इस घराने में सीखे थे।
अरुण प्रकाश अधिकारी (केवल बाबू)
विपिन बिहारी घोष
इन तीनों गुरुजनों के शिष्य हुए
पं. राजीव लोचन डे
पं. राजीवलोचन डे
पं. ज्ञानप्रकाश घोष
पं. राजीव लोचन डे
इन दोनों गुरुओं के शिष्य
अशोक टैगोर
सुमित मुखर्जी
कल्लोल मुखर्जी
अनूप मुखर्जी
नरेन चटर्जी
अरिजित् टैगोर (पुत्र)
विमान बैनर्जी
सुदीप्त डे
श्रीमती वाणी वसु
डॉ. रिचर्ड विडेस
जिम्मी हरक्राफ्ट

अनुमानतः उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के द्वितीय दशक में कलकत्ता में विख्यात मृदंगाचार्य लाला केवल-किशन आये। कलकत्ता आने के बाद एक आकस्मिक घटना के कारण वे कलकत्ता के संगीत-रसिक समाज में परिचित हो गये। सुना गया है कि ठनठनिया के रसिक जमींदार श्रीराम चक्रवर्ती महाशय की बैठक में आयोजित शास्त्रीय-संगीत की एक महफिल में वे नेपथ्य में बैठे थे। हठात् संगीत और संगत के बीच सामान्य त्रुटि देखकर उन्होंने बहुत आकस्मिक रूप से अस्फुट ध्वनि की। वह ध्वनि सुन कर श्रीराम चक्रवर्ती उन्हें भीतर बुला लाये। काफी पूछ-ताछ के बाद उन्होंने स्वीकार किया कि वे मृदंग-वादक हैं। उनका मृदंग वादन सुनकर श्रीराम चक्रवर्ती ने उन्हें गुरु बना लिया। इसके पहले श्रीराम चक्रवर्ती धुन्धुभी और देवीदीन घराने के कलाकार थे। श्रीराम चक्रवर्ती ने जिन्हें शिक्षण दिया, उनमें से प्रमुख हैं— मुरारि गुप्त और केशव मित्र, जिन्होंने विशेष रूप से आगे शिष्यों को तैयार किया। मुरारि गुप्त ने प्रायः तीस लोगों को शिक्षण दिया जिनमें से स्वामी विवेकानन्द, नाटर के महाराज जगदीन्द्रनाथ राय, लालचाँद बुराल, ब्रजेन्द्र किशोर रायचौधरी, उपेन्द्र किशोर रायचौधरी, सुबोध बाबू, दानी बाबू, दुर्लभ बाबू, गोविन्द चन्द्र पाण्डा (कटक) इत्यादि नाम साधारण लोगों को परिचित हैं। केशव मित्र ने जिन्हें शिक्षण दिया, उनमें से दीनानाथ हाजरा और बाद में विपिन बाबू और केवल बाबू के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं। विपिन बाबू से श्री ज्ञानप्रकाश घोष एवं केवल बाबू से श्री राजीवलोचन डे ने शिक्षण लिया।

विशेष सुविधा के लिए घराने का एक संक्षिप्त वंश-वृक्ष प्रस्तुत है। इससे दिखाई देगा कि कुदऊ सिंह के घराने में उनके पुत्र मदनमोहनजी के माध्यम से और गुलाम अब्बास के घराने में प्रशिक्षित अपने प्रपितामह के माध्यम से श्री राजीवलोचन डे को विराट् गुण-सम्पत्ति मिली थी जिसके कारण उनके वादन की धारा नूतन पथ पर अग्रसर हुई।

(बंगला से अनुवाद)

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND EXPANSION OF PAKHAWAJ IN BENGAL AND RAJEEV LOCHAN DEY

ASHOK THAKUR

(*Editor's Summary*)

Rajeev Lochan Dey used to tell his students that accompaniment was the soul of music. He had observed that dhrupad music was deteriorating in Bengal and the main reason for this phenomenon, according to him, was the absence of dove-tailing between pakhawaj accompaniment and dhrupad singing.

His dictum was that the sound of pakhwaj should be kept lower than the singing and the creation of variety in accompaniment should alternate at adequate points.

Shri Rajeev Lochan Dey had made special efforts to evolve an adequate style of accompaniment and solo performance, both serving their own distinct functions. This was the reason for his popularity, both as a teacher and an accompanist.

He had inherited a rich repertoire of pakhawaj from two traditions, namely, that of Kudau Singh and Ghulam Abbas. The influence of tabla in his tradition is also notable. The following geneological tree will be informative and interesting :

BHAGAWAN DAS
(BHAVANI PRASAD SINGH)
LALA KEBAL KISHAN
SRIRAM CHAKRABORTY
MURARI GUPTA
KESHAB MITRA
KUDOU SINGH
MADAN MOHANJI
SWAMI VIVEKA-NANDA
DEBENDRANATH DEY (SUBODH BABU)
SATISCHANDRA DUTTA (DANI BABU)
DURLAVCHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE
DINANATH HAZRA
GOLAM ABBAS
Father of Rajib Lochan Dey learned under this Gharana.
Grandfather of Rajib Lochan Dey learned under this Gharana.
ARUNPRAKASH ADHIKARI (KEBAL BABU)
BIPIN BEHARI GHOSH
(LEARNED FROM ABOVE 3 GURUS)
PANDIT RAJIB LOCHAN DEY
PANDIT RAJIB LOCHAN DEY
PANDIT JÑAN PRAKASH GHOSH
PANDIT RAJILED LOCHAN DEY
(LEARNED FROM ABOVE-2 GURUS)
ASHOK TAGORE
ARIJIT TAGOR (SON)
SUMIT MUKHERJI
KALLOL MUKHERJI
ANUP MUKHERJI
NAREN CHATTERJI
BIMAN BANERJI
SUDIPTA DEY
SMT. BANI BASU
DR. RICHARD WIDDESS
JIMMIHER CRAFT

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON DHRUPAD - X

DR. FRANÇOISE 'NALINI' DELVOYE

Abbreviation : D.A. 94 : Dhrupad Annual 1994, Vol. IX, Varanasi, 1994.

Introduction : The tenth issue of the non-critical "Bibliography on Dhrupad" presents some more titles of interest for the study of Dhrupad; they include works in English and Hindi recently published or reprinted, and references to publications not yet mentioned in the previous issues. Reviews published in national dailies could not be included in this issue. The names of the authors are alphabetically classified in each category, according to the system adopted in the first volume (See D.A. 85 : 95-115) and maintained in subsequent issues (See D.A. 87 : 119-121, D.A. 88 : 98-102, D.A. 89 : 105-107, D.A. 90 : 117-120, D.A. 91 : 30-33, D.A. 92 : 112-115, D.A.93 : 86-90 and D.A. 94 : 56-60). Here, entries are under two broad categories : I. "Books and Articles with References to Dhrupad" (English) and II. "Books and Articles on Dhrupad" (English and Hindi). Pages relevant to Dhrupad are mentioned within square brackets.

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ध्रुपद में छन्द

प्रेमलता शर्मा

[*विगत अङ्क से आगे- संपा.*]

पिछले अङ्क में हम कुछ परम्परागत ध्रुपद-रचना के छन्दोविधान पर विचार कर चुके हैं। इस बार पुष्टिमार्गीय कीर्तन में प्रचलित पदावली, जिसमें अष्टछाप का प्रमुख छाप है, पर कुछ विचार अभिष्ट है। १६+१२ अथवा १६+१४ मात्राओं में पद-संयोजन तो जयदेव से प्रतिष्ठा पा कर इतना अधिक प्रचलित हो चुका है कि उसके उदाहरण देना अनावश्यक है। यहाँ पुष्टिमार्गीय कीर्तन के कुछ ऐसे पद उदाहरण के रूप में प्रस्तुत हैं जिनका छन्दोविधान उक्त रूप से पृथक् है—

१. राग शुद्ध-बसंत, ताल-आदिताल

खेलत बसंत गिरिधरनचंद। आनंदकंद वर मनके फंद।।ध्रु.।।
सोहत संग सुंदर बेनु बीन। ब्रिखभानकुंवरी अतिसय प्रवीन।
दोउ छविके सिंधु तहां रहत लीन। ललितादि सखिनके नेनमीन।।१।।
बनी मंजु कुंज जमुना के कूल। भीने नवकेसरी दुकूल।
रंगभरत हंसत दोउ सुख के मूल। तिने देखि सब तनको सूल।।२।।
धिधिकट धिधिकट बजत मृदङ्ग। डिडिडमक डमक डमकडफ मिले हे संग।
ठठठनन ठनन करे ताल रंग। गगगनन गनन बाजे उपंग।।३।।
गावत अलाप तननननन। निंदित कोकिल समननननन।
रंगभरत बलहि करि झिनिनननन। तब भरेरी नेन इनननननन।।४।।
रंगभरत परस्पर करत हास। नहीं बरनि बात रसनाविलास।
सब बंधी हें जुगल हित प्रेमपास। बलिहारी गयो जहां कृष्णदास।।५।।

[अष्टछापीय भक्ति-संगीत, भाग : ३ (खण्ड-५) पृ. ८८]

इस पद की प्रत्येक विदारी में सोलह या सत्रह मात्राएँ हैं। जहाँ सत्रह मात्राएँ वहाँ एक मात्रा का विकर्षण करके सोलह बना ली गईं हैं और प्रत्येक विदारी

को आठ मात्रा के आदिताल के दो आवर्तनों में पूरा किया गया है। ध्रुव के अतिरिक्त पूरे पद में पाँच कड़ियाँ हैं इलसिए स्थायी, अन्तरा, सञ्चारी, आभोग के ढाँचे में इसे रखना सम्भव न देखकर केवल स्थायी और अन्तरा को स्वरलिपि दी गई है, जिससे यही सूचित होता है कि बारी-बारी से प्रत्येक कड़ी को क्रमानुसार स्थायी या अन्तरे की स्वरलिपि के अनुसार गाना होगा।

एक मात्रा के विकर्षण का उदाहरण इस प्रकार है—

'आनंदकंद वर मनके फंद।'

इस विदारी में 'के' को केवल एक मात्रा देकर १७ मात्राओं को १६ बना दिया गया है।

राग-रामकली, ताल चर्चरी

सोहिलरा आज नंद महर घर बाजे, बाजे मंदिलरा अनुपम गति (माई)। ध्रुव

सखी सहेली मिलि मंगल गावें रिखि मुनि बेद पठत ब्रह्मा सिव सुर मुनि फूले सुरपति।।१।।

भयो आनंद तिहूँ पुर घर मंगल, विप्र अभय कीने व्रजपति।।२।।

'जगन्नाथ'-प्रभु प्रगट भये हैं, कूख सिरानी रानी जसुमति।।३।।

(अष्टछापीय भक्तिसंगीत भाग ३, पृ. ८९)

इस पद में विदारियों की मात्रा-संख्या समान नहीं है, किन्तु कर्षण और विकर्षण के द्वारा प्रत्येक विदारी को दस मात्रा के ताल चर्चरी के दो आवर्तनों में समाहित कर दिया गया है। ध्रुव के समेत चार कड़ियों को लेकर स्थायी, अन्तरा, संचारी, आभोग— ये चार खण्ड स्वरलिपि में दिये गये हैं।

राग- मालकौंस - ताल चौताल

पीर न जानी अहो पिय, देखि तिहारी ऐसी अनोखी प्रीत। ध्रुव।

हम सों अवधि बदी, अनत बिलम रहे, कोन गाँव की यह रीत।।१।।

तारे गिनत मोहिं चार जुग बीते, कोन के भवननि सिधारे हो मीत।।२।।

'तानसेन' के प्रभु अब न पत्याऊँ तुमें, करि राखों रसरीत।।३।।

(वही, भाग २, पृ. ६७-६९)

इस पद को चौताल में बाँधा गया है। प्रत्येक विदारी को १२ मात्रा के चौताल के चार आवर्तनों में बाँधा गया है और कर्षण तथा विकर्षण दोनों का प्रयोग हुआ है, क्योंकि सभी विदारियों की मात्रा संख्या विषम है।

कवित्त अथवा घनाक्षरी छन्द में ख्याल की मौखिक परम्परा में यही पद कुछ पाठभेद सहित एवं खण्डित रूप में, राग-मालकौंस विलम्बित-एकताल में इस प्रकार मिलता है :—

स्थायी- पीर न जानी वे पिया, देखी तेहारी अनोखी रीत।

अन्तरा- ऐसे निरमोही भइलवा बलमा,
तुम उत समझा ही ये कवन गाँव की नीत।।

(संगीताञ्जलि तृतीय भाग, पृ. २३७)

ध्रुपद के पदों को तोड़ मरोड़ कर ख्याल रचना का यह अच्छा नमूना है। कवित्त या घनाक्षरी छंद में सूरदास का निम्नलिखित पद कुछ खण्डित रूप में मिलता है।

राग मालकौंस, ताल-चर्चरी (झपताल अङ्ग)

नख कहाँ लागे, बन बनरा लगाये नख,

चखक्यूं (काहे) राते, प्रात देख्यो ताते भान को।।१।।

चन्दन लग्यो है कहाँ, विध्नहरण (विध्न-हर) पूजा कीनी।

बन्दन लग्यो है कहाँ, परस (पर्स) भयो आन को ।।२।।

सै रहे कहाँ, नटनृत्य जहाँ - - - ।

अरबरे (अर्बरे) क्यों बोलो मोसों, डर लगो आन को।।३।।

गुजरी सो गुजरी (गुजरि) अब आगे आय ठाढ़े 'सूर',

थेंकड़ी कहाँ लौं देत, फाटे असमान को ।।४।।

(अष्टछापीय भक्ति-संगीत, भाग-२, पृ. ६९-७१)

घनाक्षरी मात्रिक छन्द नहीं है। इसलिए उसे ताल में बैठाने में गुरु-लघु की समता रखने का विचार नहीं रहता। प्रस्तुत पद को दस मात्रा के चर्चरी ताल में कर्षण-विकर्षण के साथ बाँधा गया है। हमने छन्द की दृष्टि से पद में जो संशोधन ऊपर किये हैं और तीसरे चरण की प्रथम विदारी में चार अक्षर खण्डित होने का जो संकेत दिया है, वह छन्द के पाठ्य रूप के लिए ही उपयोगी है। गेय रूप तो उसके बिना

भी ठीक-ठाक बन गया है। प्रत्येक चरण को दस मात्रा के ताल के चार आवर्तनों में बाँधा गया है।

ऊपर के उदाहरणों से यह स्पष्ट है कि—

१. पद में जब चार से अधिक कड़ियाँ होती हैं तो ध्रुपद का स्थायी, अन्तरा, संचारी, आभोग वाला ढांचा नहीं रखा जाता; केवल स्थायी-अन्तरा के ही स्वर-विधान का बारी-बारी से पुनः-पुनः उपयोग कर लिया जाता है।

२. पद-गत विदारियों की मात्रा-संख्या को ताल के अनुसार कर्षण और विकर्षण के द्वारा बढ़ा-घटा लिया जाता है।

३. ध्रुपद के पदों को तोड़-मरोड़ कर कई ख्यालों की रचना हुई है।

४. पदगत छन्दोभङ्ग का प्रभाव गेय में लक्षित नहीं होता।

पुस्तक सूची :—

१. **अष्टछापीय भक्ति संगीत**, लेखक एवं प्रकाशक-कीर्तनाचार्य पं. चम्पकलाल छबीलदास नायक, अष्टछाप संगीत कला केन्द्र, ६०, नायक नगर, अहमदाबाद-१४, भाग २ - सन् १९८५, भाग ३- १९८७, प्रथम संस्करण

२. संगीताञ्जलि, भाग ३, द्वितीय संस्करण १९७९, लेखक-पं. ओङ्कारनाथ ठाकुर, प्रकाशक- पं. ओङ्कारनाथ ठाकुर एस्टेट, बम्बई

CHANDA IN DHRUPAD

PREM LATA SHARMA

(*Editor's Summary*)

In the year '94, the author had presented an analys is of some traditional dhrupad compositions, from the point of view of meter. Here she has presented a few illustrations of such texts from the repertoire of *puṣṭimarga* devotional music (*kirtana*), that do not comform to the pattern of 16+12 *matras* in each foot.

She has drawn the following conclusions from these illustrations -

1. When there are more than four couplets in a text, then the musical structure of *sthayi-antara, sancari-abhog* is dropped and only the notation of *sthayi* and *antara* is repeated alternatively.

2. The number of *matras* in each section of a foot is increased or decreased by stretching or contracting according to the demand of *tala.*

3. Many *khyal* texts have been constructed through breaking up, elimination and alternation here and there of the dhrupad texts.

4. The lapses or lacuna that creep into the metrical structure of a text are not perceptible when a text is rendered in music; they are discernable only in recitation

ध्रुपद-समाचार

देश-विदेश में ध्रुपद सम्बन्धी आयोजनों की कोई सूचना इस बार नहीं मिल पाई है। वाराणसी का वार्षिक ध्रुपद मेला ८-१० मार्च, '९४ को सम्पन्न हुआ, उसमें सम्मिलित गायक-वादकों की सूची इस प्रकार है :—

१. पं. सियाराम तिवारी, २. श्री शुकदेव पवार (पवार बन्धु), ३. श्री राजाछत्रपति सिंह, ४. श्री इवान दुन्धलर, ५. श्री बिदुर मलिक, ६. श्री लक्ष्मी नारायण पवार, ७. श्री रमाशीष पाठक, ८. पं. ज्योतिन भट्टाचार्या, ९. श्री राजेश्वर आचार्य, १०. श्री स्वामी रामकिशोर दास, ११. श्रीमती इतु बनर्जी, १२. श्री अरूण भट्टाचार्या, १३. श्री चंचल भट्टाचार्या, १४. श्री रतन लाल, १५. श्री गौरी शंकर, १६. श्री रामजी उपाध्याय, १७. श्री साकेत महाराज, १८. श्री प्रेम कुमार मलिक, १९. श्री रविशंकर उपाध्याय २०. श्री रामजी लाल शर्मा, २१. श्री राजखुसी राम, २२. श्री रमाकान्त पाठक, २३. श्री त्रिभुवन उपाध्याय, २४. श्री सुखदेव चतुर्वेदी, २५. श्री विठल पाण्डुरंग, २६. श्री राजेश चतुर्वेदी, २७. श्री ऋत्विक सान्याल, २८. श्री राजभान सिंह, २९. श्री श्रीकान्त मिश्र, ३०. श्री भुवनेश्वर तिवारी, ३१. श्री चन्द्रशेखर सिंह, ३२. श्री गुणीन्द्र मुखर्जी, ३३. सुश्री मोनिका लाकुम्ब, ३४. श्री हनुमान, ३५. श्रीमती अपर्णा चक्रवर्ती, ३६. श्रीमती कावेरी कर. ३७. श्री सुनीतमल भट्टाचार्या, ३८. श्रीपद्मभान सिंह, ३९. श्री उद्धव शिन्दे, ४०. श्रीमती सुनीता चटर्जी, ४१. श्री मुकुल घोष, ४२. सुश्री अमेलिया कूनी, ४३. कुमारी संगीता अग्रवाल, ४४. श्री विजयराम दास, ४५. श्री अजयराम दास, ४६. श्री द्विपेन्द्र कुमार सिंह, ४७. श्री ललित सक्सेना, ४८. सुश्री सरबरी मुखर्जी, ४९. सुश्री रंजीता बागची, ५०. श्री इन्द्रजीत चटर्जी, ५१. श्री तरूणकृष्ण दास, ५२. श्री मुकेश कौशिक, ५३. श्री रविशंकर पाठक, ५४. श्री रवीन्द्र गोस्वामी, ५५. श्री कन्हैयालाल मिश्र, ५६. श्री दिवाकर पाठक, ५७. श्री काजल कुमार, ५८. श्री पृथ्वीराम, ५९. श्री अरूण कुमार, ६०. श्री शिवप्रसाद उपाध्याय, ६१. श्री चन्द्रधर, ६२. श्री समीत पाठक, ६३. श्री इन्द्रदेव दूबे, ६४. श्री जीवन लीला, ६५. श्री गौरीशंकर उपाध्याय, ६६. श्री निकोलश, ६७. श्री आद्या शंकर।

EDITOR'S NOTE

The tenth issue of Dhrupad Annual is being presented with a farewell note from the present editor, due to her heavy pre-occupations. The journal might continue if somebody else takes up the responsibility of editing.

In the current issue we present a comparative study of the South Indian form, kṛti and dhrupad. This study opens up a new dimension. Similar studies could be conducted in relation to older forms of Odissi, Manipuri and Sopanam music.

Studies in the verbal content of dhrupad have been presented from various angles in all the ten issues. The series of research papers on this subject that appeared in the issues of 1991, '93 and '94 deserves special mention. It has not been possible to continue this valuable series in the present issue. Its author has contributed an article on Baz Bahadur, the legendary medieval figure of music and poetry.

The musical structure of dhrupad has also been analysed. A few biographies of performers of dhrupad and pakhawaj have also been presented here and there, but it has not been possible to make a planned effort in this direction.

The Dagar tradition has been presented with regard to its history, geneology, musical characteristics, voice-production, alap, tala and layakari in the earlier issues and the present issue contains a note on the pada (verbal structure) aspect.

The bibliographies presented in all the issues comprise a major contribution to the study of dhrupad.

Since this is not purely not a research journal, some articles of general interest have also appeared and hence it has not been possible to maintain a uniform standard. On this account, we owe an apology to those who have contributed serious research papers.

सम्पादकीय

ध्रुपद-वार्षिकी का यह दसवाँ अङ्क अब तक की सम्पादिका के विदा-सङ्केत के साथ प्रस्तुत है। अत्यधिक कार्य-भार ही विदा लेने का कारण है। यदि सम्पादन का कार्य सम्भालने के लिए किसी अन्य व्यक्ति की व्यवस्था हो सकेगी तो यह पत्रिका आगे चलेगी।

इस अङ्क में हम कर्णाटकीय पद्धति की 'कृति' के साथ ध्रुपद की तुलना प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं। इस प्रकार के तुलनात्मक अध्ययन ओडिसी, मणिपुरी और सोपानम सङ्गीत की विधाओं के साथ भी किया जा सकता है।

ध्रुपद के पद-पक्ष पर विभिन्न दृष्टिकोणों से अध्ययन दसों अङ्कों में प्रस्तुत किया गया है। ध्रुपद की सांगीतिक संरचना पर भी विचार किया गया है। इस प्रसंग में सन् '९१, '९३ और '९४ में प्रकाशित धारावाहिक लेखमाला विशेष उल्लेखनीय है। इस लेख-माला को प्रस्तुत अङ्क में नहीं बढ़ाया जा सका है। उसके स्थान पर बाज़-बहादुर पर एक लेख है। यह नाम मध्ययुगीन सङ्गीत और साहित्य में अनुश्रुत है।

ध्रुपद और पखावज के कुछ प्रयोक्ताओं के जीवन-वृत्त भी कुछ अङ्कों में प्रकाशित हुए हैं। किन्तु इस दिशा में कोई योजनाबद्ध काम सम्भव नहीं हो पाया है।

डागर परम्परा के इतिहास, वंशानुक्रम, सांगीतिक लक्षण, कण्ठ-ध्वनि, ताल और लयकारी— इतने पक्षों पर अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया जा चुका है। इस अङ्क में इस परम्परा के पद-पक्ष पर कुछ विचार किया गया है।

दसों अङ्कों में जो पुस्तक-सूचियाँ दी गई हैं, उनका ध्रुपद के अध्ययन में विशेष योगदान है।

यह पत्रिका विशुद्ध रूप से अनुसंधान-परक नहीं है, इसलिए सामान्य पाठकों के लिए रोचक सामग्री भी इसमें सम्मिलित होती रही है। इस कारण हम अनुसंधानपूर्ण लेखों के प्रणेताओं के प्रति क्षमाप्रार्थी हैं।

OUR CONTRIBUTORS
हमारे निबन्ध-लेखक

1. **FRANÇOISE 'NALINI' DELVOYE,** is a French indologist affiliated to the Centre d' Etudes de ' Inde et de I ' Asie du Sud, Paris. After completing a critical edition and a French translation of the *Bhaṁvar Gīt* of Nanddās (Ph.D., Sorbonne University, Paris, 1976), she started to do research on Dhrupad from an historical and literary point of view. She has been awarded a D.Litt. Degree for her dissertation (in French) on "Tānsen and the Tradition of Dhrupad Songs in Braj, from the 16th Century to the Present day" (Sorbonne University, May 1991). An English version of this work, to be published in India, is in preparation. Her present research focuses especially on aristocratic patronage to music, as documented by Indo-Persian and vernacular sources. She has published a number of papers in the area of medieval Art-music and Indo-Persian culture, in particular in *Dhrupad Annual.* She is the co-author (with Chander Shekhar) of a *Directory of Scholars and Institutions in the Field of Indo-Persian Studies in India,* and the editor of *Confluence of Cultures. French Contributions to Indo-Persian Studies,* both published by Manohar, New Delhi, 1994.

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३. **प्रो॰ प्रेमलता शर्मा—** भूतपूर्व सङ्काय प्रमुख, म्युज़िक एवं फ़ाईन आर्ट्स संकाय (वर्तमान परफार्मिंग आर्ट्स संकाय), भूतपूर्व प्रोफेसर एवं अध्यक्षा, सङ्गीतशास्त्र विभाग (काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय); भू॰ पू॰ उपकुलपति इन्दिरा कला सङ्गीत विश्वविद्यालय, खैरागढ़ (म॰ प्र॰)। वर्तमान पता— 'आम्नाय' २०९/१, करौंदी, वाराणसी-२२१००५ टेलीफ़ोन- ३१२४६१।

४. **ठाकुर, अशोक** - कलकत्ता के सम्मानित पखावज-वादक। स्वर्गीय पं० राजीवलोचन डे से पखावज का शिक्षण प्राप्त। देश-विदेश में अनेक स्थानों पर पखावज-वादन। इस समय कलकत्ता में अनेक युवकों को शिक्षण देने में संलग्न।

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5. **THIELEMANN, SELINA** — born in an Halian musician family; first degree in Western Music and violin performance; obtained M. Mus in Indian music from the School of Oriental and African Studies/University of London, and M.Phil from the University of Cambridge with a thesis on dhrupad; research on various aspects of Indian and Iranian music, and on religious music traditions in different cultures; studying dhrupad singing with Pt. Bidur Mallik in Vrindaban; currently pursuing Ph.D. research on Vaiṣṇava temple music traditions in Vraja; present address : c/o Department of Indology, School of Oriental and African Studies/ University of London, London WCIH OXG, United Kingdom.

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